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MONASTIC LIFE
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

WITH A NOTE ON
GREAT BRITAIN AND THE HOLY SEE
1792-1806

17538

BY

CARDINAL GASQUET

AUTHOR OF "HENRY VIII AND THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES,"
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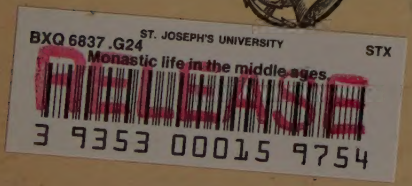

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PREFACE

THE Essays contained in this small volume were printed in various periodicals many years ago. From time to time I am asked by friends and fellow students where they could be obtained, but I have been unable to satisfy their requests to have copies. I have consequently been advised to collect these fugitive papers in another volume of Miscellaneous Essays, in the hope that they may be found useful and of interest to others besides those who have asked to have them.

The first of these papers, "Abbot Wallingford," was printed separately a few years ago, but as it has been for some time out of print I have included it in the volume. The last, "Great Britain and the Holy See, 1792-1806," has, I fear, no connexion with "Monastic Life in the Middle Ages," under which title these essays are grouped, and which it must be confessed only in a rough and general way represents the contents of the volume. But this paper, having been printed abroad, has so far been little known in England, and so it seemed useful to include it.

A. CARDINAL GASQUET.

ROME:
PALAZZO DI S. CALISTO,
IN TRASTEVERE,
5 *March* 1922.

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MONASTIC LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

ABBOT WALLINGFORD

THE visitor who takes his stand in the choir of St. Albans Abbey Church, is at once attracted by the massive and elegant altar screen which occupies the whole western end. It is, indeed, from every point of view a remarkable object, and with the exception of the similar screen at Winchester, from which, indeed, it was copied, it must be considered one of the most remarkable English architectural creations of the fifteenth century. It is an excellent specimen of Perpendicular work executed with great taste. Tier upon tier, statues of saints, set in elaborately canopied niches, rise to the very roof of the chancel, and, in the days before the desecration of the sixteenth century, when the centre of all was the great silver crucifix with the jewelled retable and hanging pyx, the St. Albans screen must have been a sight never to be forgotten. Even now, in its partially restored condition, it rivets the attention, and is pointed out as a worthy monument to the man who built it—William Wallingford, Abbot of this great Benedictine abbey for sixteen years, from 1476 to 1492 As the visitor studies this work of beauty he must recall the fact that art is a finer and more subtle expression of the inmost soul even than words; and that of arts,

architecture is not the least in power to reveal the mind of the architect and builder. "Can the same stream send forth waters both sweet and bitter?" exclaimed the late Mr. J. S. Brewer. "Are the higher realizations of artistic beauty . . . compatible with the disordering, vulgar and noisy pursuits of an unscrupulous avarice or ambition? Will men that gather meanly scatter nobly? Will any magic convert the sum total of sordid actions into greatness of any kind?"*

With this leading principle, although the tomb of Abbot Wallingford was in the chapel he had prepared near by, on the south side of the high altar, his real monument has always been regarded as the wonderful screen he set up, which recalled the memory and name of a great and good ruler; a man whose work attested the nobility of his character and the greatness of his ideas.

Quite recently we have been asked to change our estimate of Abbot William of Wallingford. He has been at rest for more than four centuries, and his name has been respected and honoured even by those who had destroyed much of what he loved so well; and now, in the withering spirit of modern criticism which loves to dethrone idols and whitewash the shadiest characters of history, some writers would seek to obtain a reversal of the usual judgement about Wallingford. They would have us believe that, so far from the Abbot being a great man and a good ruler, he was in reality a miserable self-seeker, a liar, a perjurer, and a thief, who brought his house to a condition of dishonour and ruin. Are we to believe this? What do we really know of the life of William of Wallingford?

William was a native of the village of Wallingford, the centre of which was the small Priory or cell dependent upon the Abbey of St. Albans. He and his elder brother, Thomas, entered the Order early in life, and

* J. S. Brewer, *Giraldus Camb.*, Pref., p. xxx.

as they are generally enumerated in the community lists together, probably at the same time. This would probably have been towards the close of Abbot Whethamstede's first period of office, which came to an end in 1440 by his resignation. John Stoke, the Prior of Wallingford, was chosen to succeed him, and partly, probably because he would have known the two Wallingfords well before becoming Abbot, partly, no doubt, because he recognized the great abilities of the younger brother, William, we find them occupied early in their lives in official positions at St. Albans. On the death of Abbot Stoke on 14th December 1451, the elder, Thomas Wallingford, was senior chaplain to the Abbot, an office of great trust and responsibility; and his brother William held the offices of archdeacon, cellarer, bursar, forester, and sub-cellarer of the Abbey. The capacity as an administrator displayed by the latter was evidently so great that, although at that time he can have been comparatively only a young man, he was seriously suggested as a candidate for the abbatial office. Both he and the Prior, William Albon, the second name suggested, refused to entertain the notion, and Abbot Whethamstede was unanimously requested once more to take office. This was on 16th January 1452; and throughout his second abbacy Whethamstede continued to employ Wallingford in offices of trust, such as "official general," chamberlain, and archdeacon.* This fact is, perhaps, the best answer to the grave charges brought against Wallingford with much detail and at great length in the so-called "Register" of the second abbacy.†

As this book has been recently relied upon to discredit William Wallingford something must be said concerning it. Though called a "Register of the Abbot John Whethamstede," it differs entirely from the other

* Reg. J. Whethamstede, i, pp. 5, 173, etc.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 102-135.

monastic Registers of St. Albans. The writer does no even claim that it is an official record of acts, but setting forth of some few facts in the second prelacy Abbot John Whethamstede according to the method a registrar.* The writer was bitterly opposed to Willia Wallingford. This is obvious. His method of writin history is curious. He composed the speeches of th actors in the events he describes, even when the inte views he relates are of the most private nature, and h interlards the supposed speeches with quotations bot classical and biblical. On the face of it, the so-calle register, though including facts, is a composition di tated by spite and a determination to destroy the care of Wallingford. "Again and again," writes Mr. Rile the editor, "he is accused of lying, and of habitu perjury even; and of theft too, of the most iniquito description, in having appropriated the moneys of th late Abbot to satisfy the cravings of an innate cupi ity, which had characterized him even from childhoo His nefariousness and subtlety are enlarged upon, h pomposity and verboseness are derided, his overhear lamentations are sneered at, his self-communings an most secret thoughts, which must have been known no one but himself, are professedly brought to ligh Judas and Gehazi, Simon Magus and Ananias, are s forth as his prototypes, and he is accused, in a spirit covetousness which might have animated the verie usurer, of sacrificing even unto devils. And not conte even with this, the writer extends the nefarious charg of stealing the late Abbot's savings, and of committi perjury to conceal the theft, to the Archdeacon brother, Thomas Walingforde, who was Abbot Whe hamstede's senior chaplain as well. . . . In the cause truth and honour, good feeling and good faith, we ha no option left but to believe that this narrative, wha

* "Hic prælaturæ Wethamstede pauca secundæ more registran scribuntur gesta Johannis" (Reg., i, p. 5).

ever the foundation on which it may have been based, so far from being written by the Abbot, never even came before his eyes."*

The Abbot again, it may be remarked, is frequently spoken of in terms of extravagant laudation, which it is hardly probable that he himself would have committed to writing; any more than that he would have penned the statement that by "solid, sober and sensible men" his predecessor was pronounced to be "lazy, sluggish, and odious to nearly all."

The writer adds: "The scandalous attacks upon the character of William Walingforde and his brother would, as already suggested, find no place in the Abbot's Register. Derived from some source which it is now as difficult even to surmise as it is wholly out of the reach of our knowledge, this structure of calumny and vituperation, based, may be, upon some slight fragment of fact, was devised for a purpose which, though not avowed, it is not so very difficult to divine."†

In this verdict as to the worthlessness of the so-called Register as sober history, the writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* of the account of William Wallingford, entirely agrees. "They"—that is these infamous charges and suggestions, says the *Dictionary*—"They are, however, evidently an interpolation, probably by a monk jealous of Wallingford, and Whethamstede not only took no notice of these accusations, but continued Wallingford in all his offices."

* Reg., i, Introd., pp. xv-xvi.

† It is upon the evidence of this document that Mr. Froude entirely relies for the account of the state of St. Albans in the fifteenth century given in his *Short Studies*, iii, pp. 119-126. His picture is as truthful as the document; and if, with the Editor, Mr. Riley, we regard the so-called Register as a "calumnious attack," which should "find no place in the Abbot's Register," we may equally dismiss Mr. Froude's picturesque pages as fiction perhaps founded "on some slight fragment of fact, and certainly no part of the true Annals of an English Abbey."

According to the story told in these calumnious additions to Whethamstede's Register, the foundation of the charges rested upon the story of Abbot Stoke's death-bed. His last illness came upon him at his Manor of Titenhanger,* and on the news reaching St. Albans, the Prior, Archdeacon, Sacrist, and Almoner came to him. These, to give them their names, were William Albon, afterwards Abbot in succession to Whethamstede; William Wallingford, John Wylly, and Richard Russell. In the presence of the rest the Prior is supposed to have addressed his dying Abbot in a set-speech on his tendency to accumulate wealth. The Abbot, understanding from this that his end was drawing near, admitted that he had saved a thousand marks, which he intended to go for the purchase of a large bell, to pay for the glazing of the cloister, and for a new pavement. Being further questioned, so the story goes, about this thousand marks, the dying man is supposed to have declared that it would be found in a chest in the dormitory under the care of William Wallingford and his brother, Thomas Wallingford, the Abbot's senior chaplain. After the Abbot's death, however, on search being made for the money, only 250 marks could be found in the late Abbot's purse, the two Wallingfords declaring on oath that they knew of no other money. This is the story, and in the sequel it is made out that William Wallingford and his brother were suspected, not only by the Prior, but by Abbot Whethamstede after his election, as well as by others who were examined on the matter, of having stolen the savings of Abbot Stoke. There is this much truth in the story, that Abbot Stoke did leave money to carry out the works mentioned above. His obituary notice says: "Whilst lying in bed dying, he left behind him, by his own wish, those moneys with which was purchased the great bell, which (after him) is called *John*. [He also

* Reg., i, p. 115.

left] money for the new glazing of the cloister, and before he died he purchased the beautiful gold cloth of red colour, and directed that it should be used to cover the corpses of dead brethren on the funeral days, as is now done."

It has been the custom to look upon Abbot Stoke as a squanderer of the property of St. Albans, since there is little to show as his special work for the house: further, that during his short reign the years were years of plenty, and his revenues must have been proportionately great; nevertheless, that he left St. Albans much impoverished and in great debt, to the dismay of his successor, who was greatly hampered in the undertakings he wished to carry out by the improvident management of Abbot Stoke. For all these ideas the so-called Register is alone responsible, and there is ample evidence that they are false, like the rest of the calumnious suggestions of the anonymous writer.

One work of considerable expense was certainly carried out by Abbot Stoke. It has been the custom to credit his successor—Abbot Whethamstede—with the building of the tomb for the great benefactor of the Abbey, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. But the Duke died during Stoke's abbacy, and the obituary notice of the Abbot specially declares that he built (*fabricari faciebat*) the monument.* What that cost was we may judge from the memorandum printed in the Monasticon.† "First the abbot and convent of the said monasterie have payed for makying of the tombe and place of sepulture of the said duke within the said monasterie above the summe of £433 : 6 : 8."

When Abbot Whethamstede succeeded John Stoke at the unanimous wish of the Community, he was an old but still vigorous man. He quickly experienced considerable difficulties relating to the privileges and

* Cott. MS., Nero D. vii, f. 36.
† II, p. 202, *note*.

legal exemptions of the monastery, which amongst other things involved the necessity of suing for one of those general pardons from the Crown which were common in those times, but which are difficult to understand. In 1455 the King, Henry VI, is made to forgive amongst other things, "all treasons, murders, rape of women, felonies, conspiracies, etc.," which had been committed by the Abbot and Convent of St. Albans before the 9th day of July (1453).* Of course no one will seriously maintain that these terrible crimes thus forgiven by the king, and to which, by the fact that this pardon was sued for, the Abbot and his brethren had tacitly at least pleaded guilty, were in fact committed. It is admitted that such sweeping charges were often made at this time, and, as in this case, tacitly admitted, so as to require a royal pardon for every possible offence. In this way security was attained, and the royal exchequer was replenished. Twice during his short rule Abbot Whethamstede was compelled to take out such a general pardon from the Court of Chancery.† These, however, need not be taken as evidence of any fearful and awful crimes committed at this time by the Abbot and Convent of St. Albans. It is allowed on all hands that such charges, such admissions, were mere legal fictions to enable the law officers of the Crown to get people into their hands. The pardon was merely drawn up in a general stereotyped form, and had no reference to actualities.

So far from there being any evidence of the impoverished state of St. Albans at the beginning of Whethamstede's second abbacy, everything that we know for certain points to the opposite conclusion. "Immediately after his installation"‡ he started building the library for which he had prepared much material during his first term of office. In his second year he

* Reg., i, pp. 195 *seqq.*
† *Ibid.*, p. 291.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

completed the building, and on the shell he spent more than £150. Besides this, on the masonry, lead work, glazing, shelves, and desks he spent much more. He then took in hand the rebuilding of the bakehouse which was in a ruinous condition. When he had finished he had expended some £205 on the work, not including the food and drink of the workmen; but he had the satisfaction of believing "that there was no more elegant building in the whole kingdom."*

It is interesting here to note that Abbot Whethamstede carried out these works and expended all this money "through Brother William Wallingford,† then his official," or man of business. The interest lies in the fact that it is suggested by the scurrilous writer of the so-called Register that it was precisely during this period of his abbacy that Whethamstede was charging Wallingford with theft, falsifying accounts, and perjury, etc., which is hardly consistent with employing him in this office of trust as a good and faithful servant.

It is both interesting and useful to note that, in contradiction to the suggested poverty and ruin of the St. Albans' finances by the peculations and misappropriations of William Wallingford, the long list of benefactions, etc., to St. Albans, made by Whethamstede during his second abbacy, extending over many pages of the Obit Book, is three times at least as long as that of any other Abbot. It includes the making of his own tomb, and the completion of a silver gilt altar retable —evidently a wonderful work of art—which, by the way, was also made in his second year spoken of above, and which cost £146 for workmanship, and on which was used 513 ounces of silver. Besides this Whethamstede was able to purchase estates and lands, to repair parish churches in the gift of the Convent, to provide altars and plate and organs, etc., a record which gives no indication of financial difficulties.

* Reg., i, p. 424. Cott. MS., Nero D. vii, f. 36. † *Ibid.*

All the time William Wallingford was the Abbot's official. Right at the close of his abbacy, when it was necessary to send some discreet man of business to carry out a delicate negotiation with Lord Sudely, once in 1460, and again in 1461, on the successful settlement, Abbot Whethamstede made choice of William Wallingford to conduct the business. When also, in 1464, the Abbot had to appoint a commission for the examination of people charged with heresy, the two monks chosen by him were the Prior and William Wallingford, the Archdeacon.

Abbot Whethamstede died on 20th January 1465, and on the following 25th of February William Albon, the then Prior, was chosen to succeed. After his installation he appointed to the high and responsible office of Prior the former Archdeacon, William Wallingford. This choice is absolutely inexplicable if we credit the statements of the so-called Register. It must be remembered that it was this new Abbot himself, William Albon, who, as Prior, had taken part in the supposed death-bed scene of Abbot Stoke, and had subsequently charged William Wallingford of theft and perjury to Abbot Whethamstede; and yet it was this very man whom he chose out of the whole Community to be his *alter ego* and to share his cares and responsibilities in the administration of St. Albans. Moreover, if we are to put any trust in the statements of the so-called Register, John Wylly and Richard Russell, who are also said to have witnessed the death-bed scene, were still alive as seniors at the top of the Community, and would surely have protested against such an appointment as that of their discredited and criminal brother to the highest office in the Abbey. Yet this is the record of the appointment in the Register: "Memorandum that on the 18th day of March (1465), the feast of St. Edward the King, the Lord Abbot, with the common assent of his brethren, at the time of Chapter usual in this Monas-

tery, created Dom William Wallingford, his Archdeacon, Prior of the said Monastery. He was conducted to his stall in the choir between Dom Thomas Luton, sub-prior and precentor of the Monastery, and Dom Nicholas Lychefeld, the third prior."

During the years of William Albon's abbacy—that is from 1465 to 1476—at least four canonical visitations of the Abbey "in spirituals and temporals" must have been made by Abbots appointed for that purpose by the Benedictine General Chapters. These meetings were held as nearly as possible every three years, and, as part of the necessary business of the Fathers, choice was made of a President General, whose duty it was to see that the statutes and regulations were carried out, and of Visitors to go personally to examine into the state of the various abbeys and priories of the Order. Such an examination was no mere formality. Notice of the advent of the Visitor was given beforehand, and all were warned to be present and give evidence on their conscience of their knowledge of anything amiss in the government of the house in the way of mal-administration of temporals, laxity of government, or decay of spiritual interests. To elicit information of anything which needed correction, sets of questions were drawn up to be answered by the individual members of the Community.

In this way, at a General Chapter of the Benedictines of the South Province, held at Northampton in 1464, the Abbot of Peterborough was appointed to visit the monasteries of Black Monks in the diocese of Lincoln. In fulfilment of this duty he wrote on the 4th June 1465 to say that he would be at St. Albans on 25th June to commence the visitation. He required the Abbot to inform all who ought to be present, and to let him know the names of those he had summoned.* Abbot William Albon acknowledged the letter, and submitting himself

* Reg., ii, p. 47.

and his house " humbly " to the Visitor, and he enclosed the list of the monks of his Abbey who should present themselves.*

Another Chapter was held three years later, in 1467, and at this the Abbot of Eynesham was made the canonical Visitor of the Monasteries in this district. He gave notice that he would fulfil this duty on 21st April 1468, and was welcomed and received in the same way as the previous General Visitor had been.† The number of monks examined at this time would have been between fifty and sixty.‡ Other Chapters were held in 1471 and 1473, which would have been followed as usual by the regular visitation and examination. In the last of these Chapters the Abbot of St. Albans was elected as Visitor to Glastonbury, and being unable to go there himself he deputed two of his monks to act for him in May 1474.§

So far as there is evidence, it is possible to assert that the Monastery of St. Albans was at this period in as flourishing a state as the circumstances of the times would allow. There is no sign whatever of any want of vigilance over either temporals or spirituals, and members continued to receive the habit and be professed as monks of the Abbey. Thus in 1466 four were given the monastic tonsure, and the following year four were professed and six received the habit. William of Wallingford remained the *alter ego* of the Abbot during all the eleven years of his rule. In 1473 he was, with others, appointed to make the visitation of the various vicars and curates of the town of St. Albans.

All this time money and care were expended upon the repair and beautifying of the house. Abbot Albon's

* Reg., ii, p. 48.
† *Ibid.*, p. 76.
‡ In 1380 the number of the St. Albans Community was fifty-three and two novices.—Obit Book, Cott. MS., Nero D. vii, f. 81b.
§ Reg., ii, pp. 117-118.

obituary notice speaks of his having furnished his Monastery with vestments, books, and ornaments to the value of 600 marks. He also purchased lands and tenements adding to the revenues of the Abbey to the amount of 100 marks annually, and he built two apartments in stone for the cellarer and bursar of the establishment.

The Register thus records the death and burial of Abbot Albon. "Memorandum—on the first day of the month of July 1476*—the dominical letter being F.—Master William Albon, Doctor of Laws, late Abbot of St. Albans, closed the last day of his life in the room named 'the Cloke Chamber' within the Monastery of St. Albans about eight in the evening. He was interred with all solemnity by the Reverend Father in Christ, John Hunden, Bishop of Landaff, on the Friday next following, before the feretry of St. Amphibalus, in the foresaid Monastery. May God be merciful to his soul. Amen."

It devolved immediately on William Wallingford to arrange for the election of a successor to the deceased Abbot. On the day of the funeral, therefore, he despatched two monks to ask the royal permission to proceed; and having obtained this, he summoned the priors of the various cells to come and take part in the election. This was fixed for the 5th of August, and on that day sixty monks (four by proxy), all of whom were in Sacred Orders, met together in the Chapter House to choose their Superior. Besides the actual resident community, the electors comprised the priors of eight priories or cells dependent upon St. Albans. These obviously must have formed a very valuable body of experienced men, apart from the Community, who were capable of advising and influencing the election, and if need be in the right direction. As was usual, two notaries and Masters in the Law were present as

* This, in 1476, was a Monday.

"directors and advisers" to the electors, who had gathered together in the Chapter House. The leaf of the Register containing the details of the election is missing; but the royal writ under the Privy Seal furnishes the information that the electors chose William Wallingford for their Abbot "unanimously"* (*unanimiter*) and "*per Spiritus Sancti viam*," *i.e.*, by acceptance by the whole Community without any scrutiny of votes.† This result is clearly a complete refutation of the charges made against William Wallingford in the pages of the so-called Register. Had he been the thief, liar, perjurer, etc., suggested by the anonymous slanderer, it is impossible to conceive that a body of sixty men, more than one-half of whom had known Wallingford before the election of Whethamstede in 1452‡—that is for twenty-six years—and eight of whom were men of independent positions, as priors of the various cells attached to the Abbey, could have all agreed to make choice of so undesirable and shady a character. They could not all have been men without conscience and despicable hypocrites; and this they would have been had they solemnly attended the Mass of the Holy Ghost to beg the guidance of the Holy Spirit on their choice, and after listening to the reading of the *Quia propter*, which recalled their serious obligations in conscience and before God, made choice of an unworthy Abbot to rule over them.

* Reg., ii, p. 155. Mr. Riley (i, Introd., p. xix) did not notice this statement, for he writes: "As to the degree of unanimity in reference to his election which prevailed among the inmates of the Convent, it is impossible to speak."

† *Obituary notice*, Reg., i, App. D, p. 477.

‡ From a comparison of the three lists of the Community given in the Register (i, p. 11; ii, pp. 27, 145) it may be seen that from 1452 to 1476 some twenty-four religious had died, so that thirty-three who were present at Wallingford's election would have been also present at Whethamstede's in 1452. During twenty-eight years the yearly average of deaths at St. Albans would appear to be about 1.6, and the yearly increase during the same period about 2.1.

During the abbacy of Wallingford, St. Albans apparently prospered and its numbers increased in normal proportions. In the first four years there were some eighteen names added to the list of the Community, five of whom were novices. In 1477 six monks were professed and eight received the habit. In 1480 Abbot Wallingford was appointed by the Benedictine General Chapter to visit all the religious houses in the diocese of Lincoln,* and in the same year St. Albans was visited by the Abbot of Westminster† in person, and all the religious examined as to the spiritual and temporal condition of the Abbey and as to their knowledge of anything which stood in need of correction. The next General Chapter was held in 1481, and according to the triennial rule this was followed by others in 1484 and 1487. Visitations, therefore, were probably held in 1484 or 1485 and in 1488.

In the year 1484 something in the nature of an attack upon the good name of Abbot Wallingford seems to have been made at some time or other, possibly in this visitation. At any rate, it must clearly have been to answer accusations of a serious nature against his character and administration that the Prior and Community were prompted to draw up their declaration about their Abbot, which subsequently was incorporated in his obituary notice.

After stating all that he had done for his Community in the various offices he had held, the document concludes: "And in testimony of all the foresaid things, and as a bright example of future ages, we, Thomas Ramridge, Prior, and the other Fathers and brethren, Conventuals of this Monastery, signify the truth of this to all men by our common seal: and by the unanimous consent of all and the assent of each individual, by this writing testify that all these things were lovingly and

* Reg., ii, p. 220. † *Ibid.*, p. 228.

kindly done and carried out by this best of Fathers, 8th August, A.D. 1484."*

Whilst it is of course impossible to tell what really prompted this general expression of loyalty and affection to Abbot Wallingford in 1484, what can be said with some degree of certainty is that it was called forth by some attack upon him, which the Community thought calumnious and untrue. The only attack of this kind as to which we have any knowledge is that contained in the so-called Register, and it is perfectly possible that either at the time of visitation or in some other way the Community may have become acquainted with the fact that this precious composition existed under the colour of being a Register of Abbot Whethamstede. The mention of certain monks as having been present at the death-bed scene of Abbot Stoke would almost certainly have prevented its use or production in the lifetime of the supposed three witnesses against Wallingford. By 1484 Abbot (formerly Prior) Albon, John Wylly, and Richard Russell were all dead, and Abbot Wallingford alone remained; so that the time was propitious to make use of this production, evidently aimed at destroying the character of Wallingford. If it were used at this time it would be a perfect explanation of the document drawn up by the Prior and Community to give it the lie direct.

During the early years of his rule Wallingford had something to say to the two convents of Pray and Sopwell, at or near St. Albans and under his jurisdiction. In 1480 Elizabeth Baroun, the Prioress of Pray, resigned her office by reason of her increasing infirmities, which prevented her governing her house. Abbot Wallingford appointed Dom John Rothbury, Archdeacon, and Dom Thomas Ramridge, the Subprior, to examine and ratify the election of a successor in the person of Dame Alice

* Reg., i, App. D, p. 479.

Wafer.* In 1481 he sent the same two monks to hold a visitation at the Convent of Sopwell. They were directed to inquire fully into the state of the house, both in spirituals and temporals, with full powers to depose, appoint, cite, suspend, and excommunicate any of whatever state, grade, or dignity they might be, should such a course be deemed necessary. The Prioress and each nun is ordered under holy obedience to appear before the Visitors and give evidence. The Prioress, Dame Johanna Chapelle, being old and too infirm to govern, is to be relieved of her office, and one Dame Elizabeth Webbe is to be installed in her place.

Abbot Wallingford, since the time of holding the office of Archdeacon under Whethamstede, had shown his interest in education. Ramridge, his successor as Abbot, says of him that he became distinguished for his care of students, assigning the money necessary to train ten young monks. He was appointed by General Chapter to consider the best selection for superior of the monks studying at Oxford; and from the list drawn up for the visitation in 1480 it appears that three of his young monks were at the university. One of these, John Maynard, supplicated for his D.D. in 1507, and was then Prior of Gloucester College.† At the same time, among the Community there was a Doctor of Canon Law, a Doctor of Theology, and a Bachelor also of Theology,‡ whilst by the death of Abbot Albon, St. Albans had lost another Doctor in Canon Law.

A point of general interest is the connection of St. Albans at this time with the introduction of printing. The subject is somewhat obscure, but what is certain is, that between 1480 and 1486, the unknown printer of St. Albans issued eight works from the press. This was in the time of Abbot Wallingford, and it is im-

* Reg., i, p. 222.
† Boase, *Register of the Univ. of Oxford*, i, p. 53.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

possible to suppose that with his love for learning he did not know about this new wonderful help for studies, even if, as it is difficult to suppose, he did not actively support and encourage the invention, especially if the printer was the Abbey schoolmaster. All that is certainly known about this printer is, that in Wynkyn de Worde's reprint of the *St. Albans Chronicle*, the colophon states: "Here endith this present chronicle compiled in a book, and also emprinted by one sometime schoolmaster of St. Alban."

The writer of Wallingford's biographical notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography* says: "There is no clear proof of any closer relation between Wallingford and the schoolmaster of St. Alban than between John Esteney, Abbot of Westminster, and William Caxton, who worked under the shadow of Westminster Abbey. Yet the probabilities of close connection in a little place like St. Albans between the Abbot, who was keenly interested in education, and the schoolmaster, who was furthering education by the printing of books, are in themselves great, and are confirmed by the fact that two of the eight books printed between 1480 and 1486 bear the arms of the town."

It has been remarked by Mr. Riley* that the Registers of Abbots Albon and Wallingford "in many of their details" afford "a striking illustration of the state of helpless decrepitude and decadence into which the monastic system in this country had fallen for near a century before the time when its doom was finally accomplished; and showing that it was to no small extent its own internal shortcomings that, in combination with the evil passions of an unprincipled sovereign, and the greed of his even more unprincipled creatures, contributed to precipitate its fall." The indications of this "helpless decrepitude and decadence" which Mr. Riley sees are apparently the gifts of the next presenta-

* Reg., ii, Introd., p. xxiv.

ions of rectories impropriated to St. Albans, in return or services rendered to the Abbey. These no doubt are umerous, but it is somewhat difficult to understand what is particularly wrong about the transactions; nd in view of the very troubled times and the many hanges in the political history of the period it seems hat these " rewards for services " may have been the est, if not almost the necessary means of safeguarding he interests of the Abbey.

In consequence of these troubled times also, the many hanges in the lay officials of the Abbey were probably olitic and necessary. Why, for example, Abbot Vallingford's grant in 1479 to Lord Hastings " of the ffice " of Seneschal " by reason of the singular love (he) ath heretofore borne us and our Church, and which ve trust in future he will bear," should be regarded as vidence of " decadence," is difficult to understand.

With regard to the frequent manumissions of the ond-men of the Abbot, which characterized this period n the history of St. Albans, it might naturally have een supposed that this " freeing of the slave " would ave been accounted as an act of generosity and put to he credit of the Abbot. But, when Abbot Albon reed bond-men and their families and apparently xacted a fine or composition for doing so, it is suggested hat his object was to make money for himself out of he transaction,* whilst, when Abbot Wallingford exacts o consideration for manumissions of later date, we re told that it looks " as if the Abbot was only too appy to be rid of the presence of persons who had laims upon him as a landowner," no wonder that the riter in the *Dictionary of National Biography* thinks hat " Mr. Riley, in his introduction to the second olume of Whethamstede's ' Chronicle ' is, however, nduly severe in his interpretation of many of Walling-ord's acts."

* Reg., ii, p. xxxiv.

The fact is sometimes overlooked that, situated s
near the capital and on a much frequented road, th
Abbey of St. Albans underwent many vicissitudes i
the troubles which at various times afflicted the countr
At this particular period in the fifteenth century, th
Abbey, perhaps for its peace, was too deeply committe
to one party of those contending for the crown, and tha
not the ultimately successful side on the field of Bosworth
Richard III had been the friend and patron of th
Abbey: a thing which would have been remembere
against it when Henry VII came to the throne. Th
situation was extraordinary, and a passage from D
Gairdner's Preface to *Letters, etc., Richard III, Henr
VII*,* best explains the dangers which the adherent
of the defeated cause ran. " He [Henry VII] pretende
to have been actually king even before his victory a
Bosworth. His first parliament did not scruple t
recognize this fiction, and passed an Act by which i
appeared, not that Henry and his followers had rebelle
against Richard, but that Richard and his followe
had rebelled against Henry. Perhaps there never wa
such a blot on the English statute book. A notorious li
was deliberately enacted for the purpose of attaintin
the adherents of a defeated cause. It is true the numbe
of attainders was not great, but the stretch of powe
even in that day was unprecedented. ' O God!' exclaim
the prior of Croyland, ' what security are our kings t
have henceforth, that in the day of battle they may no
be deserted by their subjects, who, acting on the lawfu
summons of a king, may on the decline of that king'
party, as is frequently the case, be bereft of life an
fortune and all their inheritance.' "

The last years of the rule of Abbot Wallingford mus
for this reason, have been difficult. For although th
Abbey from the first necessarily accepted the king wh
had won his crown in 1485 on the field of Bosworth

* II, p. xxxi.

he Abbot's friendship with Richard III brought them vithin the terms of the Act which made the adherents f the fallen king rebels against Henry and liable to ttainder. It is by no means improbable that the difficulties later experienced in the conflict between St. Albans and Archbishop Morton may in part have been due to politics. Morton was the ecclesiastical champion f Henry VII: he had shared in the king's exile and vas properly rewarded upon his triumph. His endeavour rom the first was to secure for his royal master's title he sanction of the Pope, and it is more than probable hat the extensive powers* of visitation of religious ouses, asked for jointly by the king and archbishop, vere suggested by the necessity of being assured of the ntire submission of the English monastic houses. It as been conjectured that in the case of St. Albans the ing was greatly displeased to find Catesby, the chief Seneschal of the Abbey, among the "traitors" at Bosworth.†

On receipt of these plenary powers of visitation, Archbishop Morton on 5th July 1490 sent what is called a *Monitio*, or warning, to Abbot Wallingford of his intention to apply this authority to the case of St. Albans. He enclosed a copy of the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII, giving him power to visit all monasteries in England, and then says: "It has come to our notice by public report and by frequent relations of people worthy of credit, that you, the said Abbot, have long been and are noted for simony, usury, and for the spending and dilapidation of the goods and possessions of the said Monastery, as well as for other great crimes and excesses to be afterwards noted.

"Further, it is reported that under you regular observance and hospitality has decayed and is still decaying, so that the intentions of the pious founders

* Wilkin's *Concilia*, iii, p. 630.
† Newcome, *Hist. of St. Albans*, p. 400.

of the Abbey are not carried out, and the ancient an regular method of life has been abandoned by many your brethren, who have given themselves over to reprobate sense." Then follow a series of the grave charges against the moral character of one of the nun of Pray and some of the monks; the name of one the younger religious, Thomas Sudbury, being men tioned. Sopwell, too, had been put into the care monks who have dissipated the property and brough it to ruin. The same has been done in regard to th property of the cells dependent on St. Albans. As t the Abbey itself, Wallingford is charged, according t report, with getting rid of property and jewels, of cuttin down the woods, and especially of selling all the oak and timber trees to the value of 8000 marks. As to th monks, some are said to be given to every worldly evil divine service is neglected, and some consort even withi the monastery precincts with bad women; other purchase promotion by theft of chalices and churc plate and jewels, even from the shrine of St. Alba itself. Report also accuses the Abbot of defending th evil doers, and humiliating and keeping in the back ground those of his Community who are good and desir to live in a religious manner.

Morton then goes on to say that before the receptio of the Papal Bull he had charitably called Abbo Wallingford's attention to the reported abuses, but tha the Abbot had neglected to correct them. He now onc more warns him that he must correct what is amiss i his own life and that of his subjects. If he does no within thirty days certify the Archbishop that what necessary is done, Morton warns him that, acting o the general powers given him in the Bull of Innocen VIII, he will himself come and hold a visitation.

This is the *Monitio*, or warning; and on the face o the document it professes to be merely the statemen of reports, of the gravest nature it is true, but merel

unproved reports against the good name of the Abbot and Convent. They are so sweeping and terrible that the whole is suggestive of the equally sweeping common form in which the "pardons" previously referred to are couched, and which, if they were to be accepted as absolutely true, would affect the characters and reputations of some of the most illustrious English ecclesiastics of the period.

The charges, or rather reports, set forth by Morton, as will be seen, involve the person of Wallingford as well as the St. Albans Community in doubt and suspicion. And perhaps the most astonishing part of this astonishing document is the clause directing Wallingford to correct the supposed abuses himself. If Archbishop Morton himself believed one half of these reports, the Abbot was a man of utterly abandoned life; and to leave to him the correction of the supposed abuses was nothing short of a criminal neglect of the duty with which he was charged by the Bull of Innocent VIII. The Archbishop says that he had warned the Abbot before of what was being said, and that as he had paid no attention to the warning, he now repeats his "monition" with the additional authority given by the general powers of visitation he had received. It is clear, therefore, from the document, that the *Monitio* is not a record of what was found after inquiry, as Mr. Froude would have his readers believe:* neither is it even a notification of any actual visitation which Archbishop Morton had determined to make, as some have stated. It purports to be merely a statement that grave reports were in circulation about the good name of the Abbot and Community, and under a threat of a personal visitation at some future time, an order is conveyed to Abbot Wallingford, who, if the tales reported by Morton

* *Short Studies*, iii, p. 127. Mr. Froude says: "Cardinal Morton, *after examination of witnesses*, has left in his Register as *the result of his enquiry*," etc.

were only partially true, was a hopelessly bad and incompetent man, himself to correct what was amiss.

With regard to the Convents of Pray and Sopwell about which stories of the gravest nature are detailed it may be recalled to the reader that in 1480 the strictest investigation had been made by two monks deputed by Wallingford, and in each case new superiors had been appointed to secure better discipline; and although in regard to the whole of these charges, or rather rumours it is open to any one to believe them, it should be remembered that there is absolutely no proof that any single one of them is true in fact, and their face value is, at the worst, that they remain to this day "not proven" by any evidence whatsoever; whereas, as will appear presently, there is the distinct evidence of the Community that the reports were unfounded.

Rumours of some coming difficulties would probably at some time before the date of "monition," have called Abbot Wallingford's attention to the scandalous reports in circulation about St. Albans. The report that reached him must have suggested to the Abbot that some attack upon the Abbey and its privileges was in contemplation; and, as in duty bound by the oath of his office, he at once took measures to stop any infringement of these rights.

Before the close of 1489 he had despatched some of his Community to Rome to beg for the protection of the Holy See. In fact, the obituary, so often referred to, gives the name of the monk who pleaded their cause at this time. This is the entry: "We ought not to forget what great expenses and heavy burdens he [*i.e.*, Wallingford] bore in his old age when he strove with diligence against the Archbishop of Canterbury and High Chancellor of England [*i.e.*, Morton] to defend the liberties and immunities of this monastery, and with great force strongly and manfully resisted his power, and appealed to Rome. He sent his monk John

Thornton to Rome, and boldly cited the Archbishop and his Dean of Arches (to appear there). At length our best and most revered of Fathers and most worthy Abbot gained a truly just victory, and preserved all our privileges whole and untouched, to our great honour and utility. May God and St. Alban our Patron here and in all places be praised."*

The victory here spoken of, as gained by Wallingford's agents in Rome, appears in the shape of a Brief from Pope Innocent VIII addressed to Archbishop Morton on 6th February 1490. The Pope in this, after declaring that St. Albans was a monastery exempt from all jurisdiction save that of the Pope himself, charges him (*i.e.*, the Archbishop) with the duty of protecting its privileges and defending the Abbot and monks from all attacks upon them. This he is to do "out of respect for the Pope and the said Holy See—*quod erit et nobis gratum*—which will also be pleasing to us."†

Before this document could have been received in England, Abbot Wallingford must clearly have had from Archbishop Morton that warning as to the reports in circulation about himself and St. Albans, which the latter says in his *Monitio* he had given him. Wallingford's agents in Rome would have been informed of the attitude of the Archbishop and have been directed to acquaint the Holy See. Meanwhile, on July the 5th of this same year 1490, Morton issued his *Monitio*; and on the 11th of the same month it appears from the Roman archives that the St. Albans proctor—no doubt the monk John Thornton—appeared in person before the Pope, and in the presence of one of the Cardinals presented a petition in the name of the Abbot and monks. In this was set forth the privileges of exemption from all Episcopal jurisdiction, which had been granted to the Abbey by previous Popes, and quite recently

* Reg., i, App. D, p. 478.

† Vat. Arch. Arm., xxxix, tom. 19, f. 270^{b}.

confirmed by His Holiness himself. Amongst thes privileges was the exemption from all visitations excep by properly appointed Legates of the Holy See, an even by these only when the Abbey was specificall named. To this exemption was coupled the right appeal to the Pope in person when these privileges wer attacked. The proctor of the Abbot therefore beg that the Pope will prohibit all attacks on the Abbey and declare void all censure or excommunication tha might be inflicted on St. Albans.* This petition wa successful; and the same day a Papal Bull was issue fully granting the protection asked for, pending th appeal and until such time as a definite sentence ha been pronounced upon it.†

The prosecution of the appeal was not delayed, an the taking of the evidence was committed " to Maste Jerome de Porcariis and Francis Bruno, two chaplain of the Auditors of Causes " before the Holy See. Th judges thus appointed acted with great promptitud and decided that if St. Albans was allowed in this cas to plead its exemption, other religious houses might b led to follow the example thus set by it, and also refus to submit to visitation. They therefore advised th Pope to make special provision in this matter, and fo this time to suspend the admitted privileges. Cons quently, on 30th July 1490 another Bull was issued b Pope Innocent VIII addressed to the Archbishop Canterbury. In this document, after reciting th general faculties of visitation and correction of religiou houses already granted to the Archbishop of Canterbur at the request of the King of England, the Pope goe on to say that it had lately been represented to him tha certain of the English monasteries, " and in particula St. Albans, and the house ruled over by a Prior, whic was called St. Andrew's, Northampton," had refuse

* Vat. Arch. Reg. Suppl. 913, fol. lxviii.
† Vat. Arch. Reg. Inn. VIII, anno 6°, vol. 893, fol. 1b.

to admit the Archbishop's right of visitation on the plea of a privilege of exemption granted by various Popes. They had appealed to the Holy See, and on the advice of the judges appointed to hear the appeal, he (the Pope), to put an end to the dispute and because "the King has humbly petitioned for it, granted by this Bull *special* faculties to the Archbishop to hold the visitation in question, notwithstanding all rights and privileges possessed by those houses." Archbishop Morton in order to carry out this order was empowered if necessary to invoke the help of the secular arm.*

So far as Rome is concerned this is the end of the matter. It does not require much knowledge of the methods of the Apostolic Curia to see that there was no possibility of any appeal from a deliberate judgement given in a Papal Bull, and the Abbot of St. Albans, had he wished, could not have carried the case further. *Roma locuta est, causa finita.* What exactly was settled would appear to be this: the right of the Archbishop to hold the visitation of St. Albans in virtue of the general faculties he had received was given in favour of the Abbey. As a matter of practical politics, however, and at the special request of the English King, special faculties were given to him by the above-named Bull to put an end to the dispute.

What exactly Archbishop Morton did or did not do, when he received these faculties to hold the visitation, if necessary by calling to his aid the secular power, is most unfortunately very obscure. Some slight information seems to be contained in the obituary notice of Abbot Wallingford. This remarkable document would serve well for the exercise of students in the higher criticism. It embodies at least three historical papers regarding Abbot Wallingford, drawn up at different times and obviously for some special purpose. Reference has been made to one of these documents which is dated

* Vat. Arch. Reg. Lat., vol. 884, f. 127.

in 1484, and which gives us the testimony of the Prior and Community as to the character and worth of their Abbot. A second document is dated in 1490, the year be it remarked of the *Monitio* addressed by Archbishop Morton, containing his catalogue of reported abuses at St. Albans which called for redress, and the year also of the final and wise decision of the Pope, that in spite of all privileges the Archbishop was to see to this matter as he thought fit. It seems more than probable that the catalogue of all that their Abbot—their *pius et optimus Pater*, as they call him—had done for his house in his office of trust, before his becoming Abbot, was the prelude to the declaration of what had been effected up to the year 1490, during the fourteen years of his abbacy. This is a free translation of what Prior Thomas Ramridge says in the special passage in question: "I will here say and plainly declare that he was afterwards (*i.e.*, after holding the office of Prior, etc.) elected Abbot, that is to say by unanimous agreement (*pacto, per Spiritus Sancti viam*). After taking upon himself this office, and in the few years that have passed since, that is fourteen,* he has paid £1830 for the debts of his predecessor, as clearly appears in the account of his Official. Moreover, we must add to this that most ornate, splendid, and lofty screen of the high altar, which adds greatly to the beauty of the church, delights the eyes of those who examine it, and which is to all seeing it the most wonderful work of art in the kingdom; the cost of this reached the sum of 1100 marks."

What was the purpose of this declaration at this precise time? It can hardly be questioned that it has some relation to Archbishop Morton's *Monitio*. In reply to the reports mentioned by Morton that their Abbot was a spendthrift, dissipating the goods of his Monastery, the monks brought forward proof to the contrary

* Wallingford was elected Abbot in 1476, so that this would have been written in 1490.

nd showed that probably none of his many predecessors ad done anything like as much for the Abbey. With his declaration of 1490, there can be little doubt, the ocument drawn up six years before, in 1484, was ncorporated, as both subsequently were in the obituary otice of Abbot Wallingford.

The document as it stands is a categorical denial of nany of the evil reports which Morton says had reached is ears about St. Albans. The declaration of the en-ire Community, given under the Convent seal, that ollectively and individually they held Wallingford in eneration, as a *piissimus et optimus Pater*: the cata-ogue they furnished of all that he had done for the naterial welfare of his Abbey, and in all how "useful nd beloved" he had been to his brethren: and their ppeal to the account book of his officials in proof of is having spent a very large sum in clearing off the lebts of his predecessor, was, there can be little doubt, ent to the Archbishop as the joint reply of the Com-nunity to the calumnious reports. The date, 1490, eems to make it certain that it was used in connection vith the *Monitio* of Archbishop Morton. What was the esult? Unfortunately there is little evidence to guide us. The last leaves of Wallingford's Register have been orn away, and there is no entry beyond the *Monitio* in hat of Morton. To some extent, therefore, we are left o conjecture. The Archbishop had been granted full owers to satisfy himself about St. Albans, and therefore he result was absolutely in his hands. If he made the visitation, and after inquiry left things as they were, eaving Abbot Wallingford still in office, most people vill regard this as sufficient evidence that he certainly lid not find St. Albans in the terrible state which the eports of which he speaks had led him to suppose.

On reflection, however, it seems to me more probable hat he never really held the visitation at all, but was atisfied, by the solemn testimony of the entire Com-

munity, that Wallingford was not the evil ruler he had been represented to be by his calumniators, and that he had only to look "in every corner" of St. Albans to see what the Abbot had done in buildings and repairs, or to search into the accounts to find what debts he had paid off in the fourteen years of his abbacy. It will be remembered that Archbishop Morton in his *Monitio* proposed to make a visitation only if he were not assured that what was said to be amiss should be immediately corrected. It seems, therefore, not unlikely that this declaration of the whole Community as to their entire trust in Wallingford, and their personal belief in him as a good man and able administrator, together with the proofs brought forward that he was no reckless squanderer of monastic property, etc., satisfied the Archbishop that he had been misled by listening too readily to evil and malicious reports. Having gained his point in Rome, on receiving the testimony of the monks he seems to have been content to let the matter rest.

One thing is certain, namely, that things remained at St. Albans what they were. With every power to depose Abbot Wallingford if he were satisfied that matters were as bad as they were reported to be, Archbishop Morton left him to rule the Abbey. The ordinary and natural interpretation of this fact is that on further inquiry and reflection he came to the conclusion that the evil reports were, in fact, untrue.

Wallingford died in June 1492, for on the 29th of that month King Henry VII gave the Community licence to choose a successor.* On 16th September of the same year the royal assent was given to the choice of "Thomas Ramridge, formerly Prior of St. Albans," as Abbot "in place of William Wallingford, late Abbot."† As to this choice it may be useful to note that it is itself

* Rot. Pat. 7 H. VII, m. 34.
† Rot. Pat. 8 H. VII, m. 3[18].

presumption against the truth of the slanderous eports catalogued in Morton's *Monitio*. As all know hat the discipline in a great Abbey such as St. Albans s mainly in the hands of the Prior, and if the condition f the Abbey was really as bad as these rumours would ave us believe, the blame must fall quite as much upon Ramridge as upon Wallingford. Yet it is this Ramridge vho, two years after the date of Morton's letter, is hosen to succeed him, and whose election is confirmed y the king.

The obit of Abbot Wallingford, which on the anni- ersary of his death was read out during the latter part f the office of Prime to the Community, then all ssembled for the daily Chapter, is an unusually long ocument. It has been already referred to as incorpor- ting documents which were drawn up for certain casons in the years 1484 and 1490. In 1492, upon Vallingford's death, certain portions were added, and lthough the entire document is long, it may be here ranslated.

" We now come to recall to our memory the principal oving acts and noble and sumptuous works of our late enerable Father and Abbot the Lord William Walling- ord. We set down what and how much this loving and est of Fathers began and accomplished most devotedly n this place at his great expense. These works, indeed, re apparent and abound in every part and corner of his holy house. It would, indeed, take much too long time were we to describe these works and relate all e had done; still, for his praise, and as an example o others, we will here briefly set down some of his eeds:

" First then, whilst he was Archdeacon of this Monas- ery, for God's service and out of reverence for holy eligion he supported and educated ten young religious ut of his own revenues and at great expense. Also he et up many fine new buildings in many parts of our

monastery; as for example the noble library and kitchen of stone. Further he gave a sumptuous gilt chalice and two cruets, and glazed the windows and caused pictures to be painted in many parts of the church. Also it was his goodness and liberality which repaired many of the monastic offices, making many tumbledown places to appear as new.

"Many most precious ornaments he also bestowed on this Monastery and (amongst others) the finest cloth of gold. From this cloth of gold were wonderfully worked the copes, tunicles and dalmatics, which to-day we use to the great glory of God; for no other Monastery in England possesses finer. If any one would know the true value of all these things the sum total is 980 marks.

"Then after he was made Prior, at the same time holding the office of kitchener, he paid for the (latter) office, then greatly in debt, £360 of English money. Also he expended for various repairs of farms, houses and other (buildings) belonging to the office of kitchener, in the space of eight years, 1000 marks, and notwithstanding all these expenses and repairs he built up the Prior's hall and furnished it with all things necessary.

"Here, moreover, I will speak of and plainly show that he was afterwards elected as Abbot by acclamation (of the Community, *pacto per viam Spiritus*), and having taken the pastoral office, in the few years that have passed since, that is fourteen (*i.e.*, 1490), he paid the debts of his predecessor, as is clearly proved by the accounts of his official, to the amount of £1830. In addition to this he set up that most ornamental, sumptuous and lofty screen of the high altar, which is a great glory to the church, pleasantly delights the eyes of all who see it, and to all examining it is the most wonderful work in the kingdom.

"Then, it is no light praise for him to have finished our Chapter House at his great cost, for he spent on it £1000. Then he arranged for the making of two windows

in the church, one in the north part near the Sacristy, the other in the southern part near the clock; on these he expended £100. Beyond this, for the purchase of lands (to endow) a perpetual Mass in honour of the name of Jesus every Friday for ever, and for a daily Mass for his own soul, the celebrant each day to receive 5d.; and this expense came to £100. Also he paid £60 for a mitre and two pastoral staves.

"Also for the building of his Chapel and tomb on the south near the High Altar, with railings and marble slab with the figure on it, with other ornaments of the Chapel, he expended £100.

"Moreover, we should not forget what great costs and heavy burdens he sustained in his old age when he strenuously defended the liberties and immunities of this Monastery against the Archbishop and High Chancellor of England. He valiantly and manfully resisted and appealed to Rome. He sent his monk John Thornton to Rome and cited the Archbishop and his Dean of Arches to appear. In the end, this our best and most Reverend Father and most worthy Abbot obtained a just victory, and preserved intact and inviolate all our privileges, to our great honour and utility. May God and St. Alban, our patron, here and everywhere be praised.

"What is, moreover, most wonderful, praiseworthy and memorable is, that our best of Fathers after so many and such great expenses, after such an immense number of works, left his Monastery free and without the least debt: although for many years in buildings and lawsuits and many other things he had spent so great a sum of money for the honour and liberty of the Monastery.

"The total sum of money expended on all the above-named burdens and benefits by the foresaid Right Rev. Father, William Wallingford, for the benefit of this Monastery, both when he held the offices of Cellarer,

Archdeacon, Prior and Cook, as well as in the days o
his Abbacy and Pastoral dignity, is £8600, 7s. 6d.

"And in testimony of all the foresaid, and as
brilliant example to all to come, we, Thomas Ramridge
then Prior, and we the other Fathers and brethren
conventuals of this Monastery, signify the truth to a
men by our common seal, and by the unanimou
consent of all of us collectively, and assent of eac
individually, by this private writing we testify that a
these things were lovingly and benignly accomplishe
and done by the said most worthy Father, in the year o
Our Lord 1484, the 8th day of the month of August.

"From the foregoing we can see most clearly ho
useful and how beloved he has been to his Monastery
Wherefore all of us with true hearts devoutly pray da
and night to the Almighty God for him, and that H
may deign to give him a fitting reward in heaven for h
deeds on earth. Amen."

It seems inconceivable that this description of th
character of Abbot Wallingford, and these details of h
benefactions, could have been entered in the Obit Boo
of St. Albans, and publicly read each year in Chapte
if they were not substantially true. The entire Com
munity of over sixty members knew the truth of th
facts, and had their former Abbot been the perjure
villain and the reckless spendthrift he is represented b
some to have been, the public reading of this laudator
document would have been imprudent and impossibl

It is time, however, to consider the other point
view. I take that of Dr. James Gairdner in the Intr
duction to the third volume of *Lollardy and the Reform
tion* (pp. xxx, *seqq.*).

"Abbot Wallingford is, indeed, praised by the monk
as one who, besides paying off in fourteen years th
heavy debts of his predecessor, did a number of mun
ficent things on behalf of the Abbey—among other
presented it with a splendid altar screen which exis

there even now. But if it be true,* as stated in Archbishop Morton's letter, that he cut down the wood of the Monastery to the value of 8000 marks, the explanation seems to be that he paid the debts of the house out of capital, and reduced the value of a magnificent property to make things comfortable for the existing generation of monks.† In that case he grossly abused his official trust; and unfortunately there are records of his previous history as a monk which agree only too well with this hypothesis. For he was a trustee‡ of Abbot Stoke, a covetous man who, against the rules of the Order,§ had accumulated a private hoard, and after Stoke's death he was called to account by Abbot Whethamstede for attempted embezzlement. Abbot Whethamstede, indeed, once charged him to his face with perjury, and was only persuaded not to dismiss him from various offices of trust by the intercession of influential noblemen, whose friendship the culprit had cultivated like a man of the world."‖

* *If it be true*: this is the whole matter. On the one hand we have the positive testimony of the entire Community as to the administration of Wallingford: On the other what Morton gives us "a report": Morton does not *state* that *he cut down the wood*, but that he hears *reports* that he had done so.

† There is no evidence of any kind that the value of the property was thus diminished. The very opposite would be gathered from the testimony of the Community as to the excellent administration of Abbot Wallingford.

‡ *Trustee* is hardly the word to use of a man who is said merely to have known where certain money had been placed.

§ There does not appear to be any reason to defame the memory of Abbot Stoke. Dr. Gairdner evidently does not know that the revenues of St. Albans, and indeed of all the great houses, were divided for the support of the various offices. The Abbot, who was constantly called upon to meet royal taxation, etc., had a large revenue, and because he died with a certain amount of money, which he had intended to spend on certain works for the Abbey, it is hardly just to speak of his having "accumulated a private hoard."

‖ The whole of this account is founded upon the document printed as *Registrum Abbatiæ J. Whethamstede*, which the Editor, Mr. Riley, characterizes as a "structure of calumny and vitupera-

"Yet after Abbot Whethamstede and his successo William Albon* had passed away, this William Walling ford was actually elected Abbot himself,† with wha results to the Monastery Archbishop Morton's lette *shows too clearly*,‡ and the further information whic Abbot Gasquet has obtained for us from the Vatica archives—though he appears not to have seen it in tha light §—helps, I think, rather to set forth a crownin triumph of worldliness over religion. Abbot Walling ford knew beforehand what efforts not only Archbisho Morton but King Henry VII were making at Rom to punish his misconduct, and he actually succeeded i frustrating them.‖

"He knew the ways of Rome at least as well as the did, and he set himself from the first to preserve invio late the exemption of the Abbey from all Episcopa jurisdiction.** As early as the 6th February 1490, h had procured from Innocent VIII a brief addressed t

tion" which had "no place in the Abbot's Register," and "wa devised for a purpose which, though not avowed, it is not so ver difficult to devise." "*In the cause of truth and honour, good feelin and good faith*," writes Mr. Riley, "we have no option left but t believe that this narrative, so far from being written by the Abbo never even came before his eyes." Dr. Gairdner has here trusted t the guidance of Mr. Froude, rather than to that of Mr. Riley, an accepted the document as sober history.

* Abbot Albon continued Wallingford in his offices and mad him his Prior.

† Dr. Gairdner does not say "by the *unanimous* vote of h brethren."

‡ This letter of itself *proves* or *shows* nothing whatever. It simpl states a series of reports, which apparently were never examine into.

§ This much is certainly true.

‖ This is absolutely contrary to the "information" I obtained fro the Vatican archives. The Pope expressly permitted the visitatio to take place under the circumstances, although it was against th privileges of the Abbey.

** It would be strange indeed if the Abbot did not exert hin self to preserve the privileges of the Abbey, seeing that he ha taken an oath to do so at the time of his election.

the Archbishop desiring him to protect the Abbot and monks from all interference with their privileges. On the 5th July, however, Morton having already obtained a Bull empowering him to visit exempt Monasteries* (though it was chiefly those with foreign heads), addressed that letter to the Abbot, in which the charges are expressed. But the Abbot had his proctor in Rome and appealed against the right of the Archbishop to hold a visitation.† On the 30th July, however, the Pope, at the King of England's earnest solicitation, granted the Archbishop special faculties to override objection raised to his visitation, both by the Abbey of St. Albans and by the Priory of Northampton. But there *must have been* one more move upon the chessboard, of which Abbot Gasquet does *not seem to* have come upon any notice at Rome.‡ For the victory remained at last with St. Albans, which Wallingford succeeded by great efforts in preserving from the dreaded visitation,§ and surely no worse account could well be given of the Court of Rome than is implied by such a termination of the case;‖ and surely no worse account could be

*This did not affect the privileges of St. Albans, which included exemption from all general powers of visitation, unless expressly named in them.

† As he was bound to do by virtue of his oath.

‡ I feel constrained to protest against the phrase *does not seem*, etc. I informed Dr. Gairdner that there were no more documents to be found, and his expression has been taken by many to mean that I knew of a later document and had suppressed it. To any one who knows the procedure of the Roman Courts a Bull of a Pope determining a cause is final. There is no appeal from the Pope to the Pope.

§ This statement is absolutely without foundation. There is no proof that the Visit was not held or the case settled in the way suggested before, p. 30.

‖ This judgement is founded upon Dr. Gairdner's mere supposition, which has no warrant in fact. All that the historian has to guide him in the way of documents tends to show that the Pope acted with the utmost honesty and prudence. He even suspended the privileges, which he had himself fully confirmed, to allow the Archbishop to hold the visitation asked for.

given of the Abbey of St. Albans than the way the result was recorded."*

"Moreover, we ought not to be unmindful how great most serious expenses and heaviest charges"—the translator must endeavour to do justice to the redund ance of the original language—"he sustained in his old age, when he diligently took action against the Archbishop of Canterbury, Great Chancellor of England for the defence of the liberties and immunities of this Monastery, and when he manfully resisted his power and great strength (*illius potentiæ et magnis viribus*). He appealed even to Rome, etc., as in the Obit previously given.†

"Such" (continues Dr. Gairdner) "was the actual working,‡ in this particular instance of an old, compli cated and corrupt system. As many zealous reformers who, like Dean Colet, were still loyal to that system said about the state of the Church in their day, that there was no lack of good laws to correct abuses if they were only properly enforced. But then how were they to be enforced when there was so much corruption? Good men did not see their way to a remedy. In this case the zeal of the highest prelate in England, aided by all the influence of England's King at the Court of Rome— which was always very considerable, though the Church

* Reg., J. Whethamstede, i, App. the *Obit Book*, p. 478.

† Abbot Wallingford certainly did oppose the visitation which Cardinal Morton proposed to make. In view of the oath taken by him to preserve inviolate all the privileges of his house, it is difficult to see what else he could have done. Dr. Gairdner's strictures are based on the pure supposition that the visitation ordered by the Pope was defeated subsequently by this wicked (!) Abbot by means of his Roman agents. There is nothing in the documents to warrant this assumption. The ultimate judgement of the Pope is contained in the letter ordering the visitation, even, if necessary, by invoking the secular arm. The praise recorded in the Obit naturally refers to the confirmation of all the privileges, which Wallingford secured as at least one result of his difficulties in regard to this visitation which was allowed merely as an exception.

‡ Not "*actual*," but the "working" *supposed* by Dr. Gairdner.

freedom from State control was theoretically absolute —could do nothing to avert the triumph of a powerful and wealthy Abbot, who had shamefully misgoverned the Community over which he presided, and made it a source of moral contagion to the neighbourhood," etc.

Where are we? Is this really regarded by Dr. Gairdner as " history "? History must be founded on *facts*, and deductions must be based upon facts and not upon mere prejudice. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the King of England did get what they asked for. This much is certain, by the Papal Bull. Dr. Gairdner assumes, without any warrant of fact, and indeed against the certain practice of the Roman Curia, that wicked Abbot Wallingford purchased and coerced the Pope into withdrawing this Bull. This view may be suggested by prejudice, but it is not historical. He further assumes that the visitation was never made in any shape or form, because he assumes the truth of the reports contained in Cardinal Morton's letter, quite as certainly as Mr. Froude, who declared that the letter contained a record of what the Cardinal found to be true after full examination. The only safe guide in history is to abide by the facts and by the facts only, and this case of Cardinal Morton and St. Albans as represented by Dr. Gairdner is a very good illustration how even so excellent an historian, to whom the entire world is so much indebted, may stray from the path of history into the realms of romance once the sign-posts of facts have been disregarded.

THE MAKING OF ST. ALBAN'S SHRINE*

THE history of English art has yet to be written. So completely did the Reformers of the sixteenth century succeed in their work of destruction, that not only were the works of the goldsmith, of the broiderer and of the painter, ruthlessly doomed, but the reputation and even the very names of generations of English artists were blotted out of the annals of the country by the wreckers employed by Henry and Edward. To many people it would perchance appear somewhat audacious to suggest that in the dark Middle Ages English artists in stone, metal, wood, glass, and textile fabric were at work, who might easily teach our masters in this boasted nineteenth century. We need only point to buildings, which have survived the attempts alike of destroyer and would-be restorer, as evidence that this is no exaggeration. The designer in the dark ages has set the copy which we in these days can hardly imitate. As Ruskin appropriately, though somewhat rudely, remarks about modern St. Albans: "Is there a soul so blind as not to see a difference between the men who could have designed and built such cliffs of walls and the apes who can pull them down and construct base imitations of them?"

But, though much has perished, still scattered here and there in the pages of monastic chronicles and

* A paper read before the Guild of SS. Gregory and Luke at St. Albans, 1892.

cartularies, and entered almost by chance upon the rolls and other dusty documents in our national archives, may be found evidence of the existence of art workers —aye of great schools of art—in England, about which we know little or nothing. Sometimes, even, there appears the record of a name, although so perfectly did they in those days of faith understand the value of common work that but few individual artists' names remain to satisfy the curiosity of later ages. The place of our meeting to-day* suggested at once to me, when asked to read a short paper, that some notes gathered from the great chronicles of St. Albans about the making of the saint's shrine might be not altogether inappropriate.

The beginning of the twelfth century was a time most remarkable at St. Albans for the perfection of its metal work. A renowned goldsmith, by name Anketil, who had for seven years been chief of the artificers in precious metals at the Court of Denmark, and the designer of the coins of that kingdom, became, on his return to England, a monk at this abbey. Geoffrey, the sixteenth abbot of the monastery, who ruled from A.D. 1119 to A.D. 1146, was not slow to realize the importance of making use of his exceptional talents in the construction of the first great shrine of St. Alban. I say *the first*, as meaning that of which any special account has come down to us, although there is evidence that a hundred years before some such shrine was in contemplation. For we know that Leofric, the tenth abbot, had, during a famine, sold the treasures of the church to feed the poor, "retaining only certain precious gems for which he could find no purchaser, and some most wonderfully carved stones, commonly called *cameos*; the greater part of which were reserved to ornament the shrine when it should be made."

Well, as I have said, Abbot Geoffrey, about A.D. 1124,

* The meeting was held at St. Albans.

began the first great shrine. He collected about £ for the work, " And," says the chronicler, " it happen that by the labour of Dom Anketil the work so pr spered and grew as to claim the admiration of all w saw it." The chief part of the shrine proper was wh we should now know as repousée work, and the figur that the goldsmith monk hammered in the gold plates, were made solid by cement poured into t hollows at the back. With these precious plates beaten metal the whole structure of the shrine w covered, so that no wonder it won " the admirati of all who saw it."

Here for a time the work was delayed. Funds fail and bad times came upon the house, so that the me canopy, which had been designed to crown the wo and for which much gold and silver and many jew had been collected, remained unfinished. Still beautiful was the portion so far completed, and heavily was everything round about covered with go that the substance of the work looked like solid met Then to enrich the shrine yet more, the antiques call " Sardios oniclios," or, as the chronicler says, " vulga cameos," were brought out of the treasury and fitt into the work. One of these precious stones, howev (which the writer minutely describes, and which he sa had been the gift of King Ethelred to St. Alban), w found to be so large that no other stone could be fou to match it, and it was again laid by in the treasu Into this new shrine thus prepared in the art worksh of the Abbey by the skill of Dom Anketil the relics St. Alban were translated on 2nd August, A.D. 1129.

Before passing on we may be permitted to note th this artist in gold work, Dom Anketil, out of eight mar of gold made also a wonderful chalice and paten, whi subsequently Abbot Geoffrey sent as a present to t Pope Celestine. I resist the temptation to dwell on t various presents which the same Abbot Geoffrey ga

to his church, and the works performed through his aid, and which all go to prove that this first half of the twelfth century was an age of great artistic work at St. Albans. The account of his vestments—copes in sets of sevens and fours, chasubles and dalmatics, worked albs and dorsals—all thickly covered with gold and jewels, would be a study of itself. So rich were they that, alas! they tempted his successor in a time of straitness, by the very wealth of gold woven into them, and they were burnt to recover the metal used in the manufacture of the golden cloth, or laid as ornaments upon the finished material.

But to return to the shrine. Not long after it had been so far completed as to receive the relics of the saint in A.D. 1129, the poor in the neighbourhood were afflicted with a great scarcity, as we have said, and to relieve their necessity Abbot Geoffrey took away and melted down much of the gold used on its construction. A few years of prosperity, however, enabled him to replenish the treasury, and once more "he adorned the shrine with silver, gold, and gems much more precious than before." Still, however, the canopy so long in contemplation remained unfinished. At first Abbot Geoffrey was afraid of beginning lest people should carp at his prodigality and the riches he lavished upon the saint's shrine; and then, when he did at last make a start, death came upon him almost as soon as he had begun seriously to take in hand the long-delayed work.

His successor, Abbot Ralph, who, as we have just noted, burnt the cloth of gold vestments to recover the metal, was not very likely to leave the shrine alone. It was a gold mine ready at hand, and so far from attempting to complete the glorious work, he regarded it as such, and broke off certain of the plates of beaten gold to purchase back a manor that had been alienated from the monastery. He had no absolute need, however, to borrow from the saint, since, as the chronicler notes, he

had many gold and silver vessels for his own table u
which he might have melted down for this purpo
Still, to be just to his memory, it must be added th
before his death (and he only ruled over the Abb
but a very brief space) he had made provisions for t
repair of the injuries he had caused to the noble wo
of Dom Anketil, the goldsmith monk. His success
in the abbatial chair of St. Albans caused the wo
to be at once undertaken, and re-made the shrine fr
this gold and silver and these precious stones, " and
notes the historian, " it was re-made of most dece
workmanship."

So far, however, all that had been completed was t
body of the shrine itself, which contained the relics of t
saint. It was actually finished some time before A.D. 116
at which date Simon, the nineteenth abbot, succeed
Abbot Ralph. He ruled over the house till A.D. 118
and seriously took in hand the completion of the lon
contemplated canopy. In order to understand how
placed the shrine it is necessary to bear in mind th
the great altar screen did not exist until long after th
period, and that the " theca " containing the relics
the saint, overlaid, as we have seen, with plate of gold
repousée work and jewels, had originally been made
stand behind the high altar, and had, apparently, be
quite hidden by it from the choir. Abbot Simon, havi
collected by every means in his power a great stock
gold and silver, set about making what must have be
about as rich a metal canopy to go over the finished re
chest as can be imagined. It is called an outer shrin
or canopy, and was the work " of that most renown
artificer," as he is called, " Master John the goldsmith
From the name and style given to him we should jud
that this artist was not himself a monk, and we ha
evidence that another very skilful lay worker in precio
metals was at this same time also a resident in the Abbe
and at work in its art school. " In a few years," writ

the chronicler, " this laborious, sumptuous, and most artistic work was happily accomplished "; and he (*i.e.*, Abbot Simon) placed it in its (present) elevated position; that is, above the high altar facing the celebrant, so that every priest celebrating Mass upon the altar may have both in sight and in heart the memory of the martyr, since visible to the eye of the celebrant was represented the martyrdom or decapitation. Round about the canopy, that is, on its two sides, he fashioned a series of panels representing the life of the Holy Martyr, preparatory to his passion. These were clearly displayed in figures standing boldly out in the beaten work of silver and gold, commonly called *levátura* (repousée). At the eastern end he placed an image of the Crucifix, with the statues of Mary and John, and made the frame more handsome by an arrangement of divers gems. On the western end, in well-raised work, surrounded by gems and precious golden knobs, he enthroned an image of the Blessed Virgin, holding her son to her breast and seated on a throne. Above this structure rose the roof of this canopy, and at its four angles were placed " windowed turrets " surmounted with what the writer calls " four lovely crystal domes, with their marvels." In this, " which is of wonderful size," he continues, " the shrine of the martyr, the key as it were of the old structure, in which the bones of the saint are known to be preserved, and which Abbot Ralph had made, is fittingly placed."

So far did the work proceed during the golden era of English mediaeval art, the twelfth century. I do not know whether you have been able to follow the details I have given, but I have before me a picture of what the shrine must have been. No doubt there was some kind of a foundation or base—itself possibly raised on several steps—upon which the shrine reposed under the glorious canopy just described, since we are told that it was raised up so as to appear over the altar, for we must

again recall to mind that the great screen—so striki a feature in the modern church—did not obstruct t view of the canopy till the latter half of the fifteen century. As far as information goes it would appe probable that till the middle of the fourteenth centu the shrine, as it was made in the twelfth, remain untouched. It is not quite certain exactly when it w that the marble base, of which the shattered fragmer remain to-day, was made for the shrine. It was certain designed and executed in the fourteenth century, a possibly it was completed by the sumptuous Abbot la Mare somewhere in the last half of that century. W are told in the Abbey chronicles that this abbot oft enriched the shrine with jewels, and that upon the t of the inner shrine he placed the image of an eagle wi its wings extended, and which at the cost of £20 (sor £400 perhaps of our money) he had caused to be ma of silver gilt.

I pass quickly to the following century. A list church plate and vestments, probably made abo A.D. 1427, adds a little to our knowledge of what t shrine was at this date. After speaking of Abbot de Mare's eagle, the list describes what it calls "tv suns" given to the church of St. Albans by Dom Jol Savage, one of the monks. The long rays of the ornaments were of silver gilt, and on the tip of each w fixed some precious stone. The centre part of the "sun which was of pure gold, contained various relics of t passion (including a fragment of the Holy Cross), ar of some of the saints. These two "suns" were plac upon the cresting of the great canopy.

One other note as to the shrine of St. Alban in t fifteenth century may be found in the register of Abb Whethamstede. In the middle of that century he adorn the altar of the saint, which stood at the western en of the shrine, with a silver *tabula*. This was apparent a wonderful work of art, fashioned out of beaten meta

fully gilt. As the chronicler says, "There is not thought to be another more grand and sumptuous in the whole of this kingdom." To complete this triumph of the goldsmith's art, besides 795 ounces of old silver plate melted for the purpose, Abbot Whethamstede provided more than £40 at one time for the metal, and spent 50 marks upon the making.

I will now ask you to picture to yourselves what this glorious monument alike of English piety and English art must have been at the time of its desecration at the fall of the Abbey. On the Purbeck marble base, the remains of which we have all admired to-day, rested the most costly and precious portable shrine, containing the relics of the saint. This was, as we have seen, a very marvel of workmanship, originally designed and executed by Dom Anketil. The substance of the *theca* or chest was covered entirely with plates of gold, on which the skill of the goldsmith monk had wrought figures of saints and scenes from history. Jewels of all kinds, gems, cameos, and all manner of precious stone, thickly studded the framework of these repousée pictures and sparkled in the light of the tapers ever burning round it. On the cresting of the high-pitched roof perched the silver-gilt eagle with outspread wings, which Abbot de la Mare had made to crown the work. Such was the shrine itself, which thrice a year—upon Ascension day and on the two festivals of St. Alban—was borne from its resting-place in procession by four priests in copes, and on these occasions it was wont to be covered by the rich cloth of woven gold, presented for that purpose by Thomas Wodestock, Duke of Gloucester.

Here, certainly near to the shrine and probably at one end of it, was kept the great golden cross, made in the twelfth century to contain a relic of the Holy Cross, which was visible through the crystal in the centre. In every procession this reliquary was carried by one of the brethren between two other crosses which were

held aloft by two of the lay brethren, and on Passi
Sunday the relic was venerated by the whole conve

In general features the shrine of St. Alban w
probably very similar to that of St. Edmund at Bu
Of this we can form some notion from the miniature
Dom John Lydgate's *Life of St. Edmund*, representi
King Henry VI paying his devotions at Edmundsbu
on Christmas Eve, 1433.

Over the shrine proper, and supported by ou
pillars of marble—the remains of which are still visi
—was the metal canopy. It does not appear whet
this cover, as was the case at Durham, was c
structed so as to move up and down, and only
great feasts was raised so as to display all the glo
of the inner shrine. In workmanship, and in the va
of the materials used, the canopy could hardly ha
been inferior to the relic case itself. From the
scription it would appear to have had four sides
silver repousée work gilt, upon which were sho
pictures of the life and martyrdom of the saint. Ov
this was a well-pitched roof of the same metal, and
the triangles formed at the two ends of the roof w
the two representations of the crucifix with the Ma
and John, and Our Blessed Mother with the infa
Christ. At the four corners four towers, with buttress
niches, and windows, ran up to some considera
height, and were each topped by a ball of brilli
crystal. At each end, on the apex of the triangle form
by the roof, rested the gilt suns, with all their ra
tipped by sparkling jewels. Finally it seems not i
probable that the ridge of the roof may have be
broken in the centre by some slender spire rising al
towards the wooden ceiling.

I will conclude by asking you to feast your imagi
tion for a moment more upon the marvellous treasu
gathered to do honour to the proto-martyr of Engla
at his resting-place in the abbey. At the foot of t

shrine, before the close of the fifteenth century, Abbot Whethamstede had placed the wonderful retable, or reredos, upon the altar of the saint. This stood at its westernmost end, and was wrought of beaten silver gilt, and it added one more precious ornament to the chapel of the saint.

Fancy what a picture must have met the eye upon a high festival, before Abbot Whethamstede's great cliff of a screen shut out the view of the rest of the church!

Had we been within the choir screen in the great Abbey church for first vespers, four centuries and a half ago, what a picture of splendour would have met our view! The gorgeous copes of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, with which the monks were vested, would have been all but lost in the blaze of precious metals and the sparkle of countless jewels which would have appeared over the great high altar, reflecting back and multiplying the lights of countless tapers. To-day, at any rate, the cover would have been raised, and the splendid shrine, with its no less splendid canopy, would have simply dazzled us with their rich magnificence. Even in the dark shadows of the ambulatory, beyond the chapel of the shrine, the gold and jewels of the reliquary of St. Amphibulus would have caught the light of the candles and added one more glory to the martyr-crown of the great Saint Alban.

AN ABBOT'S HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNT BOOK*

WE, who live in this twentieth century, can hard realize the conditions of existence a few hundr years ago. Steam, electricity, and the many other wo derful discoveries and inventions of our age have revolutionized the simple life of our forefathers that is not surprising if we find a difficulty in picturing it our minds. Practically annihilating space and time, t steam engine and telegraph, to name but two of tho wonderful helps we possess, have, amongst other thin compelled the entire world to contribute to the co plicated comforts and luxuries of modern days. T products of lands and continents unknown to c forefathers now find almost a necessary place daily the tables of people even of very moderate means. many of us, however, it is not uninteresting, nor inde is it without its use, in these spacious days of luxury recall the simplicity and frugality which satisfied t needs and tastes of our ancestors, before the artific wants of later times had been created.

It must be confessed that, speaking generally, knowledge of the conditions of life in England, say the fourteenth or fifteenth century, is scanty enou and any addition to it will probably be welcomed those who take even a slight interest in the past of country and people. It is chiefly from account bo and other seemingly dry and unpromising sources

* A paper in *The Downside Review*, 1910.

information that our knowledge of the manners and customs of past ages must be derived. One such book of household accounts came in my way many years ago at our Public Record Office, and forthwith engrossed my attention for a time. The copy I then made has lain for years in my writing case, and turned up by chance whilst on a journey of some days' duration. It, and the notes I had made upon it, helped me to pass the way many hours very pleasantly, and they are here set down in a connected narrative, in the hope that they may be of interest to others besides myself, and may, perhaps, help them to pass some idle moments not unprofitably or unpleasantly.

The account book in question sets forth the household expenses of an Abbot of Westminster in the fourteenth century, for two years from Michaelmas, 1371, to the same date in 1373. The Abbot in question was Nicholas Litlington, who, having been prior of his house under Simon Langham, succeeded him as Abbot when the latter became Bishop of Ely in 1362. Langham was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1366 and Cardinal two years later, when, on account of differences with the King, he resigned the archbishopric. Litlington, as Abbot of Westminster, remained always the attached friend of his predecessor. Indications of this friendship are to be found even in these accounts, in which several visits of the Lord Abbot to the Lord Cardinal at his house in Holborn are recorded, as well as notices of the provisions purchased for Cardinal Langham's stay at one of the Abbot's manor houses, when he had come to England from Avignon in 1372, by command of Pope Gregory XI, to mediate between France and England.

Abbot Nicholas Litlington was a careful administrator, and is noted as a "stirring person," very useful to the monastery. He did a good deal for the material welfare of his house during the four-and-twenty years he held the abbacy. Amongst other things he repaired all his

manor houses, which had been much injured by great storm just after his election as Abbot, and so indication of this special work may be seen even t years later in these household accounts. In June 13 for instance, there is provision made for the feeding forty-five workmen at Bourton and Morton, in t county of Gloucester. In this regard it is not u interesting to notice that though all Wednesda Fridays, and Saturdays throughout the year were ke as days of abstinence from flesh meat by the Abb and his household, meat was provided in place of fi on the Wednesdays for the hired workmen. Whi these accounts show that the monks and conventu servants fasted on fish, the labourers on one su occasion had for their refection, besides bread a forty-six gallons of beer, " a piece of bacon, six roun of beef and a pig."

The chroniclers of the abbey of Westminster tell that Abbot Litlington built two sides of the prese cloister and, besides erecting the Jerusalem Chamb furnished several of the Obedientiaries with n quarters. He enriched the treasury of the church wi several precious articles, including a pastoral staff, t chalices, and a great missal for use at the high alt " Two books of the coronations," which still exi marked with his initials, were, in all probabili prepared for the splendid ceremonial of the Coronati of King Richard II, in 1377, at which the Abb assisted officially.

As three days in each week were days of abstinen from meat, and as none whatever was taken during t whole of Lent, a considerable part of these accounts naturally devoted to recording the purchase of fi The variety is very remarkable; over thirty kinds fish being mentioned in the course of the two yea Besides fresh fish, which appears to have been fai plentiful, three sorts of dried fish formed the sta

the diet at the Abbot's table. These were what is lled "green fish," which was also apparently salt; hard fish," known usually as stockfish, and which as probably salted and dried "lyng and lobb"; and e ordinary smaller fish, such as haddock and herring, lted and preserved in barrels. Besides these, other nds of fish, stocked for use in the Abbot's larder, are med, such as salt salmon, red herrings, and salt eels. ne consumption of these dried and salt fish is naturally ry considerable, since those who had no easy access the sea, or who had not fish ponds and stews, were liged to rely upon the stock of cured fish. Thus, in ese accounts are many items representing large rchases of such stores. For example, at the beginning Lent may be found a note that "now is the time of rd fish and red herrings": and so the purchase is gistered of "93 hard fish costing *22s. 6d.*; 4 barrels salt red herrings and 5 barrels of red 'schotus' rrings," for which 61*s.* 6*d.* was paid.

Taking into account the difference in the value of ney in the fourteenth century, these prices, and, leed, those for all other kinds of fish, appear very gh. The fact is, that at no time in the later Middle ges was fish cheap. The reason is obvious: the demand r this kind of food was great, whilst the art of angling s rude, the tackle poor and inadequate, and the rriage, especially of salt-water fish, difficult and pensive. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries rmouth was the great market to supply England th salt-water fish, at any rate with cured fish for ring purposes. Indeed, sea-fishing generally, till the eenth century, was almost entirely in the hands of e eastern towns of England, and it was only after that ne that the Bristol sailors, by the aid of the mariner's mpass, were able to reach the northern fisheries, and us break down the monopoly of the Norfolk fishing vns.

Some of the great fish dinners at this time, if we ma
judge from the payments for provisions entered i
these household accounts, must have been truly wonde
ful banquets. Take, for example, a meal given by Abb
Litlington at Westminster to his Community and som
specially invited guests, on Maundy Thursday, 137
This great day in Holy Week fell in that year on 25t
March, and preparations for the feast were evidentl
begun some days before. On the previous Monday, for i
stance, men were dispatched on horseback to Teddingt
and Kingston-on-Thames to procure fresh salmon, ar
six others were out angling on the great London river f
whatever they could catch. As a result, the entries
the accounts show that the following were collected f
the Abbot's larder: "2 pike, 4*s.* 10*d.*; 2 pikerel fro
the stews, 8*d.*; one fresh salmon, 19*s.* 6*d.*; 300 smelt
2*s.*; 100 dace, 2*s.* 10*d.*; 5 rounds of sturgeon, 16*s.* 6*d*
10 lampreys, 2*s.* 10*d.*; 1 fresh lamprey from the stew
4*s.*" Besides these there were all manner of salt fis
amongst which no less a number than 574 red herrin
were served up in the Refectory. Early on the morni
of Maundy Thursday itself a messenger arrived in has
from the Prior of Malvern, with a present of three fre
Severn lampreys; and this little incident appears fro
the fact that a "tip" of 3*s.* 9*d.* was given to t
bringer of this timely gift by the Abbot's steward.

Besides this vast quantity of fish, many other thin
were, of course, purchased on this occasion to furni
forth the banquet properly. Thus, the cost of a gall
and a half of oil is set down against this day; a
18 lb. of dried fruit, ½ lb. of ground pepper, and 2
of peas to make the soup. For the actual Maundy
the washing of the feet of the brethren and the poor
the Abbot—a special provision was evidently made
the purchase of a quantity of bread and beer and thr
jars of "sweet wine," which cost 5*s.*

Of course, no information is forthcoming in the

pecial accounts as to how the food was prepared and erved up at Westminster on these and similar feast ays. This, however, can be gathered from other ources of information. Thus the well-known *Book of Nurture* tells us that soup from peas or frumenty was ften flavoured on great days by the addition of the asty tail of a beaver. This was so even on fish days, nd "sweet is that fish," it remarks, "which is not sh at all." Whether this was done at Westminster may e doubted, not because it would not be considered awful, but because beavers' tails would necessarily ave been scarce. There is in these accounts, certainly, n instance of water-fowl being eaten without hesitation t a Westminster dinner on another fish day.

In these times, salt fish was, of course, the greatest stand-by" for the caterer of every religious house nd, indeed, for every housekeeper during the time of ent, and to a lesser extent during the rest of the year. No doubt, before cooking such dishes, the recommendation of John Russell was a useful hint to be acted upon n the days when the preparation and preservation of ll such articles of food must have been somewhat rimitive, and the outside skin might possibly have een found to be both hard and strong. "Of all manner alt fish," he says, "look ye pare away the fell" (*i.e.*, he skin). For this reason, too, no doubt in accounts uch as these, one always finds the records of purchases f large quantities of condiments, such as the "half ound of ground pepper" bought for this Maundy hursday dinner, and the mustard, always in great emand, especially when fish was served. "Salt salmon, ongur, green fish, both lyng and myllwelle" (*i.e.*, odling) are to be served according to the old traditional ooking directions, with mustard sauce, or, if the bones, kin, and fins be first removed, they may be eaten with lain butter. In mediaeval times, as now, herrings, specially salt herrings, were plentiful. "Baken heryng

is dressid and dished" says the *Book of Nurture*, "witt white sugar,"—not, perhaps, a dish to tempt thi modern palate. "The white hering by the bak abroa ye splate him sure. Both row and bones voydec then may your lord endure to eat merrily witt mustard."

Another aspect of life in the fourteenth centur illustrated in these accounts of Abbot Litlington is th management, etc., of a mediaeval stable. In days whe all the world travelled on horseback, or in primitiv carriages, with large teams of horses, and with larg retinues, the provision for stable accommodation wa always a serious matter. The retinue of our Abbot, fo instance, was generally more than twenty, and me were sent on in advance of the main cavalcade t prepare provisions and bake "the horse bread necessary for the riding and pack horses. Sometime on these journeys of the Lord Abbot, there is recorde the hiring of beds for the principal officers. At Dartfor for example, on one occasion, he was with his predecesso at Westminster, now Cardinal Langham, with a retinu of twenty-six men, and it became necessary to hir "ten beds for one night," at the cost of a penny fo each, which, from other instances, appears to have bee the ordinary charge. Sometimes the Abbot had t prepare for the stabling of a great number of horse as when, on one occasion, he entertained a number o the gentry of Gloucester and Worcester, and on anothe when the King, "with all his household," came on visit to him.

In the items regarding the horses and stables we fin notices of the making and repairing of carriages an carts; of the care and keep of the horses, draught an riding. Leather and webbing is purchased for mendin the harness. Cart covers, or, as they are called o several occasions, "cart cloutes," are made from canva procured for the purpose, and the carriage-hood i

epaired and the leather well oiled and polished by the
elp of half a gallon of some preparation which cost 4*d.*
t would have been interesting could we have had a
uller account of my Lord's carriage, with its team of
horses and its coachman. Incidentally, we learn that
t sometimes lost its way, for rewards are given to
various countrymen and boys, at various times and
places, for pointing out the proper road to take. Three
r four times, in the course of the two years over which
hese accounts extend, the Abbot's coach passed along
he Hammersmith road, which then, as now, seems to
ave been in a chronic state of being repaired, for each
ime the payment of an alms to the road-makers is
ntered among the expenses of the journey.

The mention of "pack-horses," sent hither and
hither to fetch and carry, under the guidance of one
ohn Reigate (the carter), his boy, and others, and of the
epair of pack-saddles, the baiting and occasional
hoeing of the horses, add some lines to the picture of
he Abbot's stables in these years. That the animals
ere well fed and looked after can hardly be doubted
n view of the payments for hay, beans, and oats, not
o name the "horse bread" purchased for them
egardless of expense, or baked for them even by the
bbot's cook himself. The animals were carefully
hosen, and the "master of the horse," several times
uring the period covered, was dispatched to some
istant place to see, try, and report on some proposed
urchase, or to determine whether it was fit to find
place in the stalls of the prelate.

My Lord Abbot's palfrey—a grey mare, apparently—
as the object, not unnaturally, of very special care.
nce it was sick, and a quart of oil was procured for it.
had its own groom, and his purchase, on one occasion,
two pounds of "oil of bay" somehow seems to
ggest a desire to make its coat glossy. At another
me, the purchase of a scythe is recorded "to cut fresh

grass" for this favourite riding horse of my Lord the Abbot of Westminster.

In these accounts there are numerous items relating to fishing and hunting, and these will be of special interest to many. To-day, of course, if a housekeeper wants an addition of game or fish for the larder on some special occasion, recourse is had to the nearest poulterer's. In the past centuries the steward sent word to the huntsman or the fisherman to go forth and seek for some suitable addition to the table. It was certainly a more sporting way of replenishing the larder, and it had the added excitement of complete uncertainty as to result.

Peter was the name of Abbot Litlington's head huntsman at this time, and his understudy was one Walter West. Their hunting dogs were properly seen to: dishes were purchased for their food and special payments were made for their milk. At one time Peter and his three boys went away from the Abbot's manor of Denham for a six days' hunting expedition taking his hounds and three specially swift hunting dogs. At times, as dogs to-day will do, these dogs went astray, and on one occasion men were out scouring the country for two days to find a lost hound, but with what success these accounts do not relate.

Hawking, too, is mentioned on several occasions, and many entries relate to the purchase of meat and chicken to feed the falcons and hawks. "Falconer John" sometimes had bad luck; and on one occasion having flown his hawk at some bird, it would not return to his hand but flew off and compelled him to ride about over the country in every direction for two days, during which he spent 4*d*. of his master's money.

On one occasion Peter the huntsman and his helper were rowed up the Thames beyond Wandsworth to look for wild duck. On another, he was taken by the stable grooms as far as Campden in Gloucestershire, to hunt

the neighbourhood. At Pinner, in Middlesex, a general hunt was organized after "wild animals," and several times expeditions were arranged for the purpose of catching the young deer in the Abbot's parks. On one of these occasions a large supply of big nets were brought on the backs of three pack horses, and three days later one Thomas Burdet headed a party of seven of the Abbot's servants to Caversham, to stake the nets and prepare the traps to take the does alive. At another time the same Thomas Burdet led a party on a boar hunt in the little park at Denham. It was a success, and one big boar was captured and killed, whereupon Walter the cook, who was one of the party, set to work to cut it up and salt it. This took him a week to do, and he was paid 13*d.* for his trouble. The party had with them a pack horse, and the salted meat was put on its back and sent up to the Westminster larder for use at my Lord's table.

Several items in the accounts afford some slight information about the production and use of wine in England in the fourteenth century. From the earliest times the vine was cultivated in England, and much of the wine drunk was of native production. Mr. Roach-Smith* has shown that some forty vineyards are mentioned in Domesday. William of Malmesbury, evidently speaking from personal knowledge, mentions the vineyards and wine of Gloucester. At Freshford, near Bath, a living vine was discovered last century in the exact place where old accounts represent a vineyard to have existed, and probably very many of the old names of places connected with the word, were ancient vineyards. In confirmation of William of Malmesbury's assertion of the production of wine in Gloucestershire, several items from these accounts may be quoted. For example, in June 1371 one of the Abbot's carters, with a boy and a team of horses was

* *Coll. Antiqua*, VI.

sent to Tewkesbury to bring back two pipes of wine. On another occasion one John Pecche was sent "to purchase wine into the west country." In 1372 the Abbot's officials bought a hogshead of "red wine" and "a pipe of sweet wine" from the stores of Lord de Spenser, for which £13 was paid. This wine was first taken to the vintner, where fresh hoops were put upon the barrels at a cost of 2*s.* 6*d.* It was then found that the pipe of sweet wine was not quite full, and an extra gallon was bought to fill up the cask, for which 13*d.* was paid. The barrels were afterwards carted up to the cellar at Westminster. Besides the red wine and the sweet wine, "white" wine is mentioned on several occasions as having been bought by the gallon or half-gallon, on a journey. Vinum de la Reyn is also named, and 13½*d.* was on one occasion paid for a gallon and one gill of this Rhenish wine.

The ordinary drink evidently was beer, and many are the entries relating to brewing days, to the making and repair of barrels and mugs, and to the refreshments given to messengers, carriers, and the rest. An item of certain interest is the mention in these accounts ten or a dozen times of "sea coal." In making Mistress Quickly in *Henry IV* say that Falstaff had promised to marry her whilst "sitting in my Dolphin-chamber at the round table by a sea-coal fire," Shakespeare was supposed by many to have perpetrated an anachronism. But Rogers, in his history of prices, has pointed out that the earliest entry of sea-borne coal is in relation to Dover in 1279. It seems to have been employed, occasionally at least (he says), for "smith's work." In these accounts it is used for this and other purposes, including, evidently, cooking. For forging horseshoes, on Saturday, 11th October 1371, three-quarters of a ton was purchased for 4*s.* The price given by Rogers as the average from 1371 to 1380 is 1*s.* 11½*d.* per quarter, which is only slightly less than what the Abbot was charged.

The number and variety of the fish that are noted in the Abbot's accounts are very considerable. Besides the herring, which with cod and ling or stockfish was the great "stand-by" of the chef, there are many species of salt-water fish named as articles of food on days of abstinence. Such are haddock, whiting, or merling as they are called, mackerel, sole, plaice, ray, porpoise, and gurnet, besides sprats, smelts, shrimps, mussels, and oysters, not to mention the useful, if not too tasty, conger eel. Of their fresh-water cousins we may find the names of barbel, pike, dace, roach, minnows, with, of course, salmon, fresh and salt, and the much-prized, but apparently fairly plentiful, lamprey.

Old John Russell gives us some idea of how best to dish up some of these denizens of the deep, or river. Salt fish, stockfish (after it has been coaxed back to some measure of softness by many waters ofttimes renewed), merling (*i.e.*, whiting), and mackerel, after the bones and skin and fins have been removed, may best be eaten with sweet butter. Of pike, the belly is the best, and this should always be served with much sauce. Lamprey is always good. If it be salt it should be cut into seven gobbets, and, after the back bone has been voided, it is best eaten with onions and galantyne.

The onion was much prized and almost necessary in the days when meats were strong and garnishing vegetables few. "The onion," says the *Maison Rustique*, 'though it be the country man's meat, is better to use than to taste: for he that eateth everie day tender onions with honey (!) to his breakfast shall live the more healthfull, so that they be not too new."

The table of my Lord the Abbot must have afforded almost as great a variety of meats and game as of fish. Beef and mutton are perhaps not quite as common an article of food as we might have been inclined to guess. Pork and bacon are named several times, and once there is a record of a pig purchased to be turned into lard for

kitchen use. As the signs of the coming winter multiplie preparations are made for the annual salting of animals mainly sheep, for use during the months of cold and frost On St. Martin's Day, 11th November, the mediaeva farmer considered seriously what his live stock was an measured his store of hay. What he could not hope t feed till the coming spring had to go into the saltin tub. Lamb and veal are only named once during thes two years as having been purchased, but birds of variou kinds appear to have been plentiful. Capons and chickens ducks, both wild and tame, geese, egret and herons pheasants, partridges and pigeons, quail, teal and sma birds generally, are amongst those named. The swan too, is spoken of as having been bought on four grea occasions. Probably the Abbot, like Chaucer's man "A fat swan loved he best of any roost."

The cost of a swan is set down at 3*s.* 4*d.* for a dinne on Sunday, 28th December 1371, and for the same mea four ducks at 1*s.* 8*d.* and seven capons at 2*s.* 5½*d.* wer bought. The following year about the same time th Abbot gave a dinner to his tenants at Denham, and th meat bill contained items for beef, mutton, four sma pigs, five ducks, one swan, six geese, six capons, nin fowls, two woodcock, and "a milk cream cheese."

The Abbot's kitchen was probably no very gran place, and modern cooks of even the most moderat household would probably scoff greatly at the kingdo of the Abbot of Westminster's chef. The accounts nam two cooks as serving my lord at this time, Walter an John, but whether John succeeded Walter the coc or worked together with him does not appear on th face of the documents. They were paid regular wage and when called upon to do any extra work they som times had a reward. For instance, on a certain Wedne day, it happened on the Wednesday in Holy Week, 137 Walter the cook found that for the great dinner alwa given by the Abbot to the monks of Westminster c

Maundy Thursday there was no fresh salmon in the larder. We may picture his consternation. The credit of the house, at least his part of it, was at stake; but he was evidently a man of resource and determined to ride at once to Kingston-on-Thames to try and purchase some. He went also to Hampton, and in the end got what he wanted—two fine fresh Thames salmon, for which the price was 21*s.* 2*d.* How much that may be in our money I will not guess and I dare not calculate what it would work out per pound; but I hope Master Walter the cook got a lecture for his extravagance. Possibly he did not, for I see he was paid 2½*d.* for his reward in securing these dear fish.

We learn very little in these papers about the actual fire or "furnace" at which the cooks prepared their dinners. Incidentally, we find that both wood or charcoal and "sea coal" were used in the kitchen, though the more common fuel was clearly wood. The fireplace was, apparently, not altogether an "open hearth" kind, on which various small fires boiled or roasted their own special dishes, whilst a vast iron pot, supported on a tripod over logs of wood, cooked the savoury mess of the day. We are told by one entry of a domestic breakdown in the kitchen arrangements and of the sudden departure from the Abbot's manor of Denham of a boy to bring back fire-bricks, *petra pro furno*, at once from Westminster.

Not much appears in these papers of accounts about the purchase of any "instruments" of culinary art. At one time a bucket is bought, at another a tin vessel, and at another a big copper pot is mended as well as three brass dishes, which last item cost 10*d.* Mention is made of a large provision basket and of a spice-box with a lock of its very own, as also of wooden trenchers and that great instrument of every mediaeval kitchen, the necessary sharp "lechyng knife," for dividing up the portions before they were dished.

Perhaps the best way to realize the work of a great kitchen, like that of the Abbot of Westminster, is to study the preparation made for some great day. On Monday, 8th August 1372, the King and his entire household came to dine with Abbot Litlington at his manor house of Islep. There had been an unusual bustle of preparation. A week before one John Pecche had been dispatched into the West of England to procure wine, and another attendant of the Abbot had gone, with a boy and two horses, to Westminster to bring back silver goblets and other plate. A third expedition went from Islep to Winchcombe, Derehurst and Worcester to purchase provisions and other necessaries. As the day drew near the bills came pouring in. There was linen of all sorts; towels and "broad towels"; two napkins "to serve the King before the dinner" cost 18*d.*; twelve ells of linen were made up into two tablecloths and two "savenapes," and four ells of "linen gracie" were devoted to some mysterious purpose, and, possibly, may have been meant to filter the beer. The sempstresses were paid 5*d.* for making the various cloths and napkins, and for the canvas screen which closed in the end of the hall and hid the buttery-hatch.

The store of spices, etc., was, as usual on these occasions, very considerable. A pound of cloves cost 7*s.* 6*d.*, ½ lb. of mace 5*s.* 6*d.*, ¼ lb. of ginger 3*s.* 2*d.* and so on with rice, flour, cinnamon, dates, currants, prunes, and pines. This last was a seasoning much used but exactly what it was is not known. Some think it was dried mulberry. The grocery bill for the King's entertainment ends with 5 lb. of sugar, price 7*s.* The only other item which is somewhat strange is "galynggale," of which some pounds were used. It was a root of a plant from the East Indies of an aromatic smell and hot, bitterish taste. From it was made galantyne, "a sauce for any kind of roast fowl, made of grated bread

eaten cinnamon, ginger, sugar, claret wine and vinegar
ade as thick as grewelle."

There were the usual meats at this royal banquet, and
ne bill gives the following: 77 capons, 156 pullets, 2
heasants, 5 heron, 6 egrets, and 6 brewas. These last
ere probably whimbrel or half curlew, to be eaten,
cording to the *Book of Nurture*, " with sugar and salt,"
ixed with the water of the river. All the above poultry
as purchased in London, and were brought down alive
Islep at a total cost of 43*s.* 2*d.* The same cavalcade
hich brought the birds brought 5 lb. of salt, 6 gallons
cream, and much honey.

Besides the above, the stewards procured 12 dozen
n vessels; 250 wooden bowls, hired for 2*s.* 1*d.*, 9
which were lost, and for which ultimately 9*d.* each
d to be paid to the contractor; 5 large bowls and
shes, with 4 wooden ladles. Five days before the great
stivity two men were at work setting up the trestle
bles, the benches, and the great dresser. Over this
as erected what is called " unum hall " in canvas;
t what the hall was for and how it could have been
super dressoria " is not clear.

On the Saturday before the King's arrival, two days
fore, for the day before was Sunday, the baker and
ewer were at work on their respective trades: the
rmer making not only *payn de mayn*, table bread,
r the visitors, but stores of horse bread for the horses
the King and all his merry men. At the same time
e cooks were using up the supply of fine flour for the
sties which proved so important a part in all mediaeval
nquets.

Of course, vegetables and fruits are here conspicuous
their absence. In fact, throughout these accounts
it is not often mentioned, and still more seldom
ything in the shape of our modern vegetable. Dates,
nes, raisins, currants, figs are the usual fruits named
all of them, of course, dried. Onions are named twice

and green peas once. Apples also are only once name
and twice there is a record of a purchase of a bask
of cherries for my lord at Oxford. Besides these, ric
peas for soup, and oats for pottage, are about all th
items of the vegetable kingdom known to the keepe
of the accounts of Abbot Litlington in 1371-1372.

These pages are truly " dry bones," but even thes
when they are stirred, seem to tell us some little of th
life led hundreds of years back in this England of our
Of this we know so very little that even a small matt
may help us to realize it better, and if we care for th
past at all we ought to try and understand how ou
forefathers who made our country lived out the span
their lives.

OW OUR FATHERS WERE TAUGHT IN CATHOLIC DAYS*

OME few years ago I attempted in the pages of this Review to show that the instruction given by the nglish priests in pre-Reformation times was by no eans so hopelessly inadequate as it suited the sectarian rposes of some writers to represent. In fact, an tended and careful examination of original and much-glected sources had compelled me to come to a very fferent conclusion. All the available evidence, in the ape of books of religious instruction in general, and those intended to assist priests in the discharge of eir plain duty of teaching in particular, not to mention e various collections of set sermons and of materials aid in the production of sermons, now to be found ong the manuscripts in the British Museum, pointed the fact that the people were properly instructed in eir religion. This, after all, was merely what the late rned Professor Janssen had found to be the case in rmany in the ages which preceded the coming of ther; and upon a review of all the facts it seemed to certain that before the change of religion in England, duty of giving popular instruction in the faith and ctices of the Catholic Church was conscientiously charged.

n a paper dealing with a mass of evidence, much of it essarily somewhat minute, and extending over a iod of two centuries anterior to the Protestant

* Printed in *The Dublin Review*, April 1897.

Reformation, it was obviously impossible to do litt
more than name some few of the works written t
furnish material for religious teaching, and to indicat
only in very general terms the nature of that teachin
Yet this last is precisely what we want specially t
understand more fully. What exactly, for instance, wa
the kind of instruction given to our Catholic forefathers
Was it as clear and definite and precise as that whic
we are accustomed to? and how do the terms in whic
that teaching was conveyed compare with the modes
expression in use amongst us now? The answers
these and kindred questions will be found, I fancy, t
really interesting part of the subject to most peopl
The information requisite for a reply to such queri
can only be obtained by an extended examination
some of the works in question, and in the present artic
therefore, I purpose to direct the attention of the read
to one single volume of pre-Reformation instructio
This paper will in reality consist mainly of quotatio
from the work in question, for in this way only is
possible to form any adequate notion of the charact
of the teaching given to our Catholic ancestors.

The volume I propose to submit to the test of exa
ination is one that is said to have been very popul
in the fifteenth century. It is called *Dives et Pauper*—t
rich and the poor man—and its purpose is thus declar
in the colophon at the end of one copy: "Here ende
a compendious treatise or dialogue of Dives and Paupe
that is to say, the rich and poor, fructuously treati
upon the Ten Commandments." There exist manuscri
copies in the British Museum library * and elsewhe
and editions of it were issued from the printing press
of Pynson in 1493, Wynkyn de Worde in 1496, a
Thomas Berthlet in 1536. The fact that it was co
sidered a volume of sufficient interest and importan
to warrant its publication by the first English print

* Harl. MS. 149; Royal MS. 17, c. xx and xxi.

mong the earliest fruits of the newly discovered art of rinting will be sufficient to attest its popularity, and ıe value attached to it by the ecclesiastical authorities.

The author of the tract is usually considered to have een a Carmelite friar of Doncaster named Henry 'arker, who lived in the second half of the fifteenth entury, dying in 1470. He was a graduate in theology of he University of Cambridge, and is chiefly, if not wholly, nown to fame through a sermon which he preached at 'aul's Cross in 1464. In this he apparently vehemently ttacked the secular clergy, and being supported in his efusal to retract by the brethren of his Order, he got ıto serious trouble with the Bishop of London, which ventually led to his imprisonment. His right to be ccounted the author of the tract *Dives et Pauper* ppears to rest upon little but conjecture, and, as it eems to me, upon conjecture not founded upon any eliable basis of fact. Neither the manuscripts extant or the printed editions give any direct indication of uthorship, whilst the indirect indications to be found ı the book itself seem to make it most unlikely that it ould have been written so late as the time of Henry 'arker. After carefully reading the volume and noting ny illustrations of the time, and of the circumstances f the English people when the author was writing, I am trongly of the opinion that the book was composed omewhere in the first decade of the fifteenth century. he only actual date mentioned in the volume is 1402, o which the author refers as that of the appearance of star or comet well known to his readers. The circumtances, popular difficulties, and popular movements ndicated, also appear certainly to lead to this conclusion. he whole tone, bent, and method of the dialogue etween this rich man and poor man forcibly recall the ermons of Bishop Brunton of Rochester, which were reached at the close of the long reign of Edward III nd in the early years of Richard II. The spirit of the

two is identical; but, unfortunately, little is apparent known of these eloquent discourses. I believe that I sha be the first to call attention to them. The very tit of this book, and still more of a sermon on the tex "Simul in unum dives et pauper," attributed to th same author, recalls an eloquent sermon of Bisho Brunton on the same text, and would seem applicab to the circumstances of a period when the hostility the upper classes to the Church, under the influence John of Gaunt and the inheritors of his spirit, on served to bring out into relief the soundness of th Christian instincts and Catholicity of the people gene ally. In the mind of the author of *Dives et Pauper*, as that of Bishop Brunton, the upper classes by their ev living had brought down upon the country the manife punishment of God in the humiliations which ha befallen it, and both call out loudly for a return to th greater simplicity of living and singleness of purpo which characterized the English nation in earlier day Bearing in mind, then, the probable date at which th volume of instructions first saw the light, and th unsettled circumstances of the times, let us turn to th book itself and see what kind of lessons were considere best suited to the people. The passages quoted w be given as in the original, but for the convenien of the reader in a modern spelling.

The main conception of the author in writing th dialogues is that the poor man takes the rôle of teache Dives, the rich man, that of pupil or questioner. Th subject-matter is a full and careful discussion of th Ten Commandments, and the general scheme and th division of the subject into the consideration of the tw tables, as included in the two precepts of charity, practically the same as that sketched out by Archbisho Peckham in 1281 for the guidance of parish priests the discharge of their duty of instructing the peop committed to their charge. It is prefaced by an explan

on given by the poor man of the blessings of poverty, id of the way in which Our Lord by making choice that state for His own had raised and ennobled it. he rich man makes answer:

The same your brother told me twenty years ago,* but then e spoke chiefly of the state of high perfection. Let us now eak awhile, I beg you, of that lower kind of perfection neces- ry for all, for as I cannot attain to the higher state, I would, as deed I must, keep and hold firmly the lower degree of per- ction.

To this Pauper replies in the words of Our Lord to ie rich young man, "*Serva mandata*—keep well the ommandments." This Dives agrees is necessary, and therefore fain would I keep them better than I have one, but," he adds, "I see so many doubts therein iat I cannot keep them." Upon this Pauper proceeds o enlighten him, and his explanation of the difficulties roposed forms the bulk of the tract under consideration.

* It is perfectly evident that this is an expression not used at iphazard, and that the author here designates some writer known the time. "Your brother" is evidently understood in the sense a member of the same religious profession. Although I may ave a suspicion as to the person referred to, I do not feel justified giving expression to the supposition. It is just here that for ngland we miss such a work as the *Histoire Litteraire*. I cannot it reflect with a certain legitimate satisfaction that my own rethren in religion laid out such ample and firm foundations for ie whole edifice of the history of their own country as is implied y the *Histoire Littéraire*; the *Recueil des Historiens de la France*; *ecueil des Historiens des Croisades*; *Gallia Christiana*; *Concilia alliae*, the great collection of Charters; the collections for istories of Provinces, etc. At the same time, I cannot but reflect ith something like regret and shame that so little has been done n England. In any question touching our earlier literary history e are practically without help. Nor is it possible to make up for ie past neglect on a sudden. Such a work as the *Histoire Littéraire* equires a long period of preparation by devoted workers. Nor can forget that the Benedictines of Germany had already planned and ere engaged in a similar scheme for their own country when the evolution put an end to their existence.

Starting with the first commandment the question o images is at once raised. Now, if there be one subje more than another upon which the pre-Reformatio English Catholics are supposed to have been very i instructed indeed, it is as to the use and abuse o images. Probably a very large number of our countr men at the present day are under the delusion that the Catholic ancestors were little better than idolate before the Protestant Reformation came to cast dow the images and enlighten the priest-ridden populatio as to the heinousness of their pagan worship of stoc and stones.* The destruction of the statues of Chri and the Saints and the general whitewashing of th frescoed walls of the churches are justified and explaine by the sad necessity which forced the first English Pro testant leaders to extirpate a foul and deep-rooted erro against the Christian faith from the hearts and minc of the people at large, by wholesale and pitiless destru tion. It is assumed that the Catholic clergy in Englan in pre-Reformation days not only did not instruct the flocks as to the proper devotion and reverence whic alone it was lawful to pay to the representations o Christ upon the cross or to statues of Our Lady and o the angels and saints in heaven, but that false and supe stitious practices were encouraged and tolerated if no positively inculcated by the Catholic priesthood fo their own wicked ends. It is of interest consequentl for us to see how the question is treated in this popula book of instructions. Dives starts the subject by de claring that he does not understand how the numerou

* It is only within the last few years that in a work of world-wid reputation, such as the *Monumenta Germaniae*, which no one wou have thought could be made the vehicle of mere vulgar Protestan imputation, a writer so highly competent in his own sphere a Herr Krusch, has quite gratuitously suggested that unlettere poor Catholics at the present day actually worship the wood an the stone of images (*Mon. Germ. Scr. Rer. Meroving*, iii, p. 20 note 4).

nages " that are in the churches now " can be right, nd he thinks they ought all to be burnt. Pauper replies nat they serve three great ends, namely: " they are dained to stir men's minds to meditate upon the ncarnation of Christ and upon His life and passion nd upon the lives of the saints "; also to move the eart to devotion and love, " for oft man is stirred more y sight than by hearing or reading ": thirdly, images are intended to be a token and a book to the ignorant eople, that they may read in imagery and painting as erks read in books." Dives pushes his point and asks ow it can be possible to read any lesson from a painting.

Pauper: When thou seest the image of the crucifix think of im that died on the cross for thy sins and thy sake and thank im for His endless charity that He would suffer so much for ee. See in the image how His head was crowned with a rland of thorns till the blood burst out on every side, to stroy the great sin of pride which is most manifested in the ads of men and women. Behold, and make an end to thy ide. See in the image how His arms were spread abroad and awn up on the tree till the veins and sinews cracked and how is hands were nailed to the cross and streamed with blood, destroy the sin which Adam and Eve did with their hands nen they took the apple against God's prohibition. Also He ffered, to wash away the sin of the wicked deeds and wicked rks done by the hands of men and women and make an end thy wicked works. See also how His side was opened and is heart cloven in two by the sharp spear and how it shed ood and water, to show that if He had had more blood in His dy, more He would have given for men's love. He shed His ood to ransom our souls, and water to wash us from our sins.

But whilst the teacher endeavours to draw his hearer an understanding of the deep meaning that he can he will read into the representation of the crucifixion fore his eyes and thus make it a " book " to himself less really than the written book of the learned, he ost carefully and in language which for clearness of pression and simplicity of illustration cannot be

excelled, warns him not to mistake the nature of t reverence paid to the image:

In this maner [he continues] I pray thee read thy book a fall down to the ground and thank thy God who would do much for thee. Worship Him above all things—not the sto nor the stone nor the wood, but Him who died on the tree the cross for thy sins and thy sake. Thou shalt kneel, if th wilt, before the image but not to the image. Thou shalt do worship before the image, before the thing, not to the thi offer thy prayer before the thing not to the thing, for it se thee not, heareth thee not, understandeth thee not. Make t offering, if thou wilt, before the thing, but not to the thing; m thy pilgrimage not to the thing nor for the thing, for it may help thee, but to Him and for Him that the thing represe For if thou do it for the thing or to the thing thou doest idola

Nothing could be plainer than this teaching, as to t meaning of reverence paid to images, and Pau enforces it by some examples. Just as when a priest church at Mass, he says, with a book before him be down, holds up his hands, kneels and performs oth external signs of reverence and worship, he does all t to God and not to the book.

So should the unlettered man use his book; that is, imag and painting, not worshipping the thing, but God in heaven a the saints in their degree. All the worship he doth before thing he doth it not to the thing but to Him the thing repres

He further reminds Dives that the priest offers up H Mass before the image of a crucifix specially chosen remind all that "Mass-singing is a special mind-maki of Christ's passion." Before the image then:

the priest says his Mass and offers up the highest prayer t Holy Church can devise for the salvation of the quick and dead. He holds up his hands; he bows down, he kneels a all the worship he can do he does; more than all, he offers the highest sacrifice and the best offering that any heart devise—that is Christ, the Son of the God of heaven, under form of bread and wine. All this worship the priest doth at M before the thing—the crucifix; and I hope there is no man woman so ignorant that he will say that the priest singeth

ass or maketh his prayer or offers up the Son of God, Christ imself, to the thing. . . . In the same way unlettered men ould worship before the thing, making prayer before the thing id not to the thing.

One of the boasted reforms of the early English rotestants was that they had put a stop to the adoration which was paid to the cross, and in particular had rbidden the retention in the service of Good Friday any semblance of the old practice of honouring it what was known as "creeping" to it; that is, pproaching it with bended knee. It was claimed that allowing this customary reverence, the Church had ven occasion for the growth of serious superstition nong the common people, amounting in reality to actical idolatry. In view of this it is interesting to e how Pauper deals with this question:

n Good Friday] says Dives, especially, in Holy Church, men eep to the cross and worship the cross.—That is so [replies e teacher], but not in the way thou meanest. The cross that creep to and worship so highly at that time is Christ Himself, io died on the cross on that day for our sin and our sake. . . . e is that cross, as all doctors say, to whom we pray and say *Ave crux spes unica*—Hail thou cross, our only hope."—But ejoins Dives] on Palm Sunday, at the procession, the priest aweth up the veil before the Rood and falleth down to the ound with all the people, saying thrice thus: "*Ave Rex noster* Hail, be Thou our King"! In this he worships the thing as ng!—Pauper: Absit! God forbid! He speaks not to the image at the carpenter hath made and the painter painted, unless e priest be a fool, for the stock and stone was never king. e speaketh to Him that died on the cross for us all—to Him at is King of all things. . . . For this reason are crosses placed the wayside, to remind folk to think of Him who died on e cross, and worship Him above all things. And for this same ason is the cross borne before a procession, that all who llow after it or meet it should worship Him who died upon a oss as their King, their Head, their Lord, and their Leader heaven.

In this matter of worship there is one point on which

it is frequently asserted that the English pre-Reforma tion Church tolerated gross error. It is held by not few that in those days the distinction now so wel known to every Catholic between the supreme divin honour paid to God and the relative honour shown t His saints was not recognized, or at any rate no distinctly taught to the people at large. No one wh has examined the books of religious instruction in us during this period could possibly with honesty maintai an opinion so opposed to the evidence they afford. I particular is this distinction between the worship du to God and that honour, however great, to be paid t his creatures drawn most exactly in regard to th devotions to our Lord's Blessed Mother. This, fo example, is how Pauper in his instructions treats th matter. After most carefully explaining that ther are two modes of "service and worship," which diffe not merely in degree, but in very kind, and which wer then, as now, known under the terms *Latria* and *Dulia* he proceeds:

Latria is a protestation and acknowledgment of the hig majesty of God; the recognition that He is sovereign goodness sovereign wisdom, sovereign might, sovereign truth, sovereig greatness; that He is the Creator and Saviour of all creature and the end of all things; that all we have we have of Him and that without Him we have absolutely nothing, and tha without Him we can neither have nor do anything, neither w nor any other creature. This acknowledgment and protestatio is made in three ways: by the heart, by word, and by deed. W make it by the heart when we love Him as sovereign goodness when we love Him as sovereign wisdom and truth that may n deceive nor be deceived; when we hope in Him and trust Hi as sovereign might, that can best help us in need; as sovereig greatness and Lord, who may best yield us our deserts; and sovereign Saviour, most merciful and most ready to forgive u our misdeeds. . . . Also the acknowledgment is done in th prayer and praise of our mouths. For we must pray to Him an praise Him as sovereign might, sovereign wisdom, sovereig

oodness, sovereign truth, as all-just and merciful, as the Maker nd Saviour of all things, etc. And in this manner we may not ray to or praise any creature. Therefore they who make their rayers and their praises before images and say their *Pater noster* nd their *Ave Maria* and other prayers and praises commonly sed by Holy Church, or any other such, if they do it to the nage and speak to the image they do open idolatry. Also ney are not excused even if they understand not what they ay, for their lights and their other wits, and their inner wit, so showeth well that there ought that no such prayer, praise, r worship should be offered to such images; for they can neither ear them, nor see them, nor help them in their needs.

In his explanation of the second commandment 'auper treats very fully of the various questions connected with oaths and vows, and with much emphasis oints out the evil of rash oaths and perjury. He eclares that in his belief England has been punished or this sin more than once in the transfer of the kingdom rom one ruling power to another, as for example when William, Duke of Normandy, swept away nigh all the hivalry of the land and changed the lordships and he prelates of the land, nigh all into Frenchmen." He ments, much in the same way that Bishop Brunton id in his sermons preached about 1380, that this sin as again so rife in the land: "Alas," he says, "in our ays we fall into perjury in the highest degree, not one ut nigh all, and what blood hath been shed since! his land is enfeebled in every estate by the shedding f blood." Under this same command comes an exellent instruction on the nature of servile work and s to what works are lawful or unlawful to be done on undays and holidays. For example, the tract says, Also messengers, pilgrims, and wayfarers who might asily rest without great harm, are excused, provided hat they have done their duty and heard Matins and lass." Specially speaking about the mystery and iiracle plays which were often performed in Catholic Cngland on the feast days, the writer says:

Spectacles, plays, and dances that are used on great feasts as done principally for devotion and honest mirth and to teach men to love God the more, are lawful if the people be not thereby hindered from God's service, nor from hearing God's word and provided that in such spectacles and plays there is mingled no error against the faith of Holy Church and good living. All other plays are prohibited both on holidays and workdays (according to the law), upon which the gloss saith that the representation in plays at Christmas of Herod and the Three Kings and other pieces of the Gospel, both then and at Easter and other times, is lawful and commendable.

D. Then it seemeth by thy speech that on holidays men may lawfully make mirth.

P. God forbid else, for, as I said, the holidays are ordained for the rest and relief both of body and soul.

The explanation of the three commandments of the first table of the law is furnished by a passage showing how the whole decalogue is included in the two precepts of the love of God and the love of our neighbour, and the motives which should induce us to strengthen and increase the former in our souls.

Thus [says the teacher] all the ten commandments are comprehended and included in the two commands of charity. The first precept of charity is this: Thou shalt love the Lord God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy mind, with all thy might. When he saith thou shalt love thy God with all thy heart, He excludeth all manner of idolatry that is forbidden by the first commandment; that is, that man set not his heart, nor his faith, nor his trust in any creature more than in God, or against God's worship. For whosoever loveth another well, in him he hath full trust and faith, and after the manner he loveth so he trusteth, and whom he trusteth most, commonly he loveth most. Therefore it is that God ordered that thou shouldst love Him with all thy heart; that is to say, with all thy faith, in such a way that thou set all thy faith and trust in Him before all others, as in Him that is almighty and can best help thee in thy need. And therefore the first commandment of these three is applicable principally to the Father Almighty. . . . Also God biddeth that thou love Him with all thy soul; that is to say (as St. Anselm declares), with all thy will, without contradiction,

at thy will be not contrary to His will, but always conformable
it. And in that He biddeth that thou take not His name in
in, He bids, that as thou hast taken the name of Christ and
t called Christian, so thou shalt conform thy will, thy life, and
y speech to the will of Christ, so that thou will nothing, nor
nothing, nor say nothing against His will, willingly and wit-
ngly; nor cause others so to do, nor avow against His will and
orship. . . . And look that thou spend all thy being in His
orship and His love. Then lovest thou Him with all thy soul,
which principally is thy life and thy being, and so if thou
end not thy life and thy being in His love, thou lovest Him
t with all thy soul, and thou takest His name in vain who is
ui Est; that is, "He That Is." For everything that is, taketh
being of Him. And so if thou spend thy life in sin and in
nities thou takest His name of being in vain.

Turning to the second table, Pauper, in his rôle of in-
ructor, shows how the first commandment of this table
ears a close analogy to the first of the former table:

Mankind [he says] hath two beginnings: The first beginning
d beginner is God; the second beginning and beginner is the
ther and mother. By the first precept of the first table we are
ught to worship God above all things as Him that is the
ginning of us all and of all creatures. By the first command-
ent of the second table we are taught to worship father and
other, who are our beginning after God.

In the course of his teachings upon the command-
ent Pauper lays down the principle that any one who
ters the religious life when his father and mother are
any need of his help does what is wrong, and in-
dentally he informs Dives that the duty of assisting
s parents extends to the life beyond the grave, and
at he is bound to help the souls of his father and
other by prayers and almsdeeds.* Under this com-
andment, too, Pauper speaks of our duty with regard

* Those acquainted with early English wills will readily see how
ll this duty was discharged by our Catholic ancestors. There
very few wills indeed which do not contain bequests to obtain
yers and masses for the souls of the father and mother of the
tator.

to the worship of God and the principle upon which the obligation is founded:

> Also by this commandment we are bound to worship God, who is the Father of all things, who is called the Father of mercies and God of all comfort. He is our Father, for He made us of nought; He bought us with His blood; He findeth us all that we need and much more; He feedeth us. He is our Father by grace, for by His grace He hath made us heirs of heavenly bliss. Was there ever a father so tender of His child as God is tender of us? He is to us both father and mother, and therefore we are bound to love Him and to worship Him above all things.

In connection with this commandment several chapters of the volume treat of the honour and obedience due from the Christian to what the author calls in good old English phrase "our ghostly fathers," the Pope, bishops and priests of the Church, the ministers of "our mother the Church." The relations and duties, as in the case of earthly parents, are reciprocal, and although he vindicates the principle that those who preach the Gospel should live by the Gospel, and that consequently priests and curates have a natural right to support their claim by ecclesiastical law to the payment of tithes, Pauper writes down some very severe words indeed against those prelates whose zeal in the cure of souls is governed by ideas of their own profit and loss. In this section the nineteenth chapter deals especially with the authority of the Church to claim obedience from Christians in matters of faith, and the author inculcates the duty of submission to the decisions of the Pope, the bishops, and priests.*

* It is perhaps worth remarking that in the edition printed by Berthlet no mention whatever is made of the Pope; though the title-page professed that the book was issued from the press in 1534, it seemed somewhat too early to have found the Pope's name removed from the original. A reference to the other editions of Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde, however, shows that this was really the case, as they, as also the manuscript copies of the tract,

The portion of Chapters xxiii and xxiv as to the Christian's duty to honour the saints and angels, and in particular our personal patrons, is very practical and beautiful. The passage chiefly about devotion to the guardian angels is as follows:

First, worship ye our Lady, mother and maid, above all next after God, and then other saints, both men and women, and then the holy angels as God giveth thee grace. Worship ye them not as God, but as our tutors, defenders and keepers, as our leaders and governors under God, as the means between us and God, who is the Father of all and sovereign Judge, to appease Him and to pray for us and to obtain us grace to do well and forgiveness of our misdeeds. For this reason David sayeth, "Every spirit shall pray to the Lord in 'behoveful' time for mercy and forgiveness of sin." And, dear friend, pray ye heartily to your angel, as to him that is nearest to you and hath most care of you, and is, under God, most busy to save you. And if ye will follow his governance and trust in him in all goodness and with reverence and purity pray ye to him faithfully, make your plaints to him, and speak to him homely to be your helper, since he is your tutor and keeper assigned to you by God. Say ye oft that holy prayer, "Angele qui meus es," etc.

For the benefit of those readers who may not know this simple but excellent prayer to the angel guardian which English mothers taught their children in Catholic days, which is found so frequently recommended in the sermons of the fifteenth century, and which the confessor in those ages was wont to suggest for the use of his penitents, it may be here given as Englished from the well-known tract *Dextra Pars Oculi*:

O angel who my guardian art,
Through God's paternal love;
Defend and shield and rule the charge
Assigned thee from above.

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mention the Pope as the first authority in matters of faith. One MS. (Royal MS. 17, c. xxi) shows the word *Pope* partially erased from the page, and Berthlet's edition, though dated 1534 on the title, was in reality published, as the colophon at the end states, only two years later.

From vice's stain preserve my soul,
O gentle angel bright;
In all my life be thou my stay,
To all my steps the light.

Some of the most vigorous and incisive of the instructions of Pauper are devoted to the subject of preaching and to the obligation of priests to teach their people and speak plainly to them. He has no patience with those who are unwilling to blame when it is their duty to do so.

That flattery of false prophets, of preachers and of other speakers, who blind the people with pleasant leasings,* and will not unfold to them their wickedness, is one principal cause of the destruction of many realms, lands, people and cities unto this day, as we may see before our eyes, if flattery and leasing blind us not. . . . Some preachers in these days preach full well against sin, but against the great sin that all the land is intrecked in, and all Christendom knoweth, and which is the evident cause of our misfortunes, against that no man preacheth, but nigh all be about to maintain it.—D. What sin is that?—P. Often have I told thee, but thou believest me not. Go over the sea and there men will tell thee if thou ask.

On the necessity of preaching in general and of vernacular instructions in particular, his language is as strong and uncompromising as that which we have been too long accustomed to associate with the name of Wyclif. No more unwarranted assumption has ever been made in the name of history than that which has classed as Lollard productions, old English fifteenth-century tracts and booklets which dealt openly with abuses needing correction. In particular has this been the case in regard to all treatises, pleading for more simple and systematic vernacular teaching of religion. Were it not as plain as the noonday sun that the author of *Dives and Pauper* was a loyal and devout son of Holy Church, and did not the tract contain the patent affirmation of those truths of religion which the followers

* *I.e.*, falsehood.

of Wyclif were chiefly concerned to deny, there can be little doubt that because of his declaration as to the value of preaching he would have been set down as a Lollard writer. Here is what he says on the matter of instruction:

Since God's word is life and salvation to man's soul, all those who hinder God's word and hinder them that have authority of God and by orders taken to preach and teach, from preaching and teaching God's word and God's law, are manslayers ghostly. They are guilty of as many souls as perish by the hindering God's word, and namely those proud, covetous priests and curates that can neither teach nor will teach, nor suffer others that both can and will and have authority to teach and preach of God and the bishop who gave them their orders, but prevent them for dread lest they should get less from their subjects, or else the less be thought of, or else that their sins should be known by the preaching of God's word. Therefore they prefer to leave souls that Christ bought so dearly to perish than to hear their own sins openly reproved generally among other men's sins. As St. Anselm saith, God's word ought to be worshipped as much as Christ's body, and he sins as much who hindereth God's word and despiseth God's word or taketh it recklessly as he that despiseth God's body, or through his negligence letteth it fall to the ground. On this place the gloss showeth that it is more profitable to hear God's word in preaching than to hear a Mass,* and that a man should rather forbear his Mass than his sermon. For by preaching folk are stirred to contrition, and to forsake sin and the fiend and to love God and goodness, and (by it) they be illumined to know their God and virtue from vice, truth from falsehood, and to forsake errors and heresies. By the Mass they are not so, but if they come to Mass in sin they go away in sin, and shrews they come and shrews they wend away. Also the virtue of the Mass standeth principally in true belief in the Mass, and specially in Christ, who is there in the host. But that (belief) a man may learn by preaching of God's word and not by hearing of Mass, and in so far hearing of God's word truly preached is better than the hearing of Mass.

* It will be unnecessary, of course, to remark that the author is not here speaking of the Mass of Obligation on Sundays and festivals, but of voluntary attendance at Masses of devotion.

Nevertheless, the Mass profiteth them that are in grace to ge more grace and forgiveness of sin. . . . Both are good, but (th preaching of) God's word ought to be more discharged an more desired than the hearing of Mass.

In one place Pauper condemns loudly the rising tendency, remarked upon so frequently by the writers and in the chronicles of the period which followed the French successes of Edward III, of foolish and immoderate dress.

I am sure [he says] that the foul, stinking pomp and pride of array now used in this land in all three parts of the Church that is, in the feudaries, in the clergy, and in the commoners will not remain unavenged unless it be soon amended by true repentance and the forsaking of this sin. For from the highest unto the lowest, in every state and every degree, and nigh even in every person, there is now seen the bodies of men and women arrayed against all reason and the law of God.

In another connection the author pleads for the use of the English word *father* in place of other and more high-sounding titles for those of high degree whom we are bound to honour.

In holy writ [he says] all men of worship are called *senes* and *seniores*, that is *seigniours* in French. And in the French tongue men of worship and lords are called *seigniours* and *pères*, that is *fathers* in English, for they are fathers in honour and ought to be worshipped as fathers by the fourth commandment.

It is somewhat curious at a time when, as we have been led to suppose, cruelty, especially to animals, was little considered, to find our author speaking strongly against the wanton and unnecessary killing of God's creatures.

When God forbade man to eat flesh [he says], he forbade him to slay beasts in any cruel way, or out of any liking for shrewness. Therefore, He said, "Eat ye no flesh with blood" (Gen. ix), that is to say, with cruelty; "for I shall seek the blood of your souls, at the hands of all beasts." That is to say: I shall take vengeance for all the beasts that are slain only out

of cruelty of soul and a liking for shrewness. For God that made all hath care of all, and He will take vengeance upon all that misuse His creatures. Therefore, Solomon saith, "that He will arm creatures in vengeance on their enemies" (Wisdom, v); and so men should have thought for birds and beasts and not harm them without cause, in taking regard that they are God's creatures. Therefore, they that out of cruelty and vanity behead beasts, and torment beasts or fowl, more than is proper for man's living, they sin in case full grievously.

Of the slight incidental indications, given by Pauper, of the state of society, I quote only the following, from which some deduction must doubtless be made to allow for any overshading of the picture of evils from which the world suffers so common in the earnest moralist.

It seemeth to me [he says] that the prophecy of St. Boniface (as to evils that would befal England if the people did not keep continent) is now fulfilled. For what adultery hath reigned in this land these many years is no secret, and, namely, among these lords who have now brought the country to such bitter bales. Some of them be slain, some of them yet live in much woe. God's law is forgotten, and it is forbidden that men should know it and hear it in their mother tongue. The people is unworthy and despised by all Christendom for their falsehood and their false believing. . . . They are harlots in living, unstable in faith, unstable in battle, overcome by nearly all, hated by God and man, without grace and success nigh in all their doings.

Among the many touching exhortations given by Pauper in this tract, is one detailing the advantage of keeping the Passion of Christ ever before the mind as a stay to evil inclinations and a remedy against sin. He prefaces his instruction by a story. A certain king's son had lost his affections to a poor woman below him in station, whom, in spite of the efforts of his relations, he wedded. For her sake he had to endure many and great persecutions from relatives, and finally was sent to the wars, where he fought with great distinction. Placed in the forefront of the battle on one occasion, by com-

mand of those whose susceptibilities he had injured by his marriage, in the hour of victory he fell fighting, covered with wounds. Before he died he sent to his wife his shirt marked with his blood, and pierced in a hundred places with the weapons that had wounded him to death. With this he sent her the following lines:

Behold my wounds and have them in thy thought,
For all the goods that are thine I with my blood have bought.

The wife received the token and forthwith hung the shirt in her chamber, and whenever she was tempted to forget the high estate to which she had been raised, she would retire thither, and looking on the garment, would say to herself:

When I have his blood in mind,
That was to me so good and kind,
Shall I never husband take,
But him that died for my sake.

In the same way, says our author, should the thought of Christ's suffering and death be our stay and our strength.

For why? All the joy and bliss that we shall have in heaven, and all the grace and goodness that we have here on earth, we have it all by virtue of Christ's Passion. For had He not died for our sakes we should have for ever lain in the pains of hell. By this shirt so full of wounds and so covered with blood I understand His blissful body. For as man's body is clad in his shirt, so the Godhead was clothed in the blissful body of Christ. This body was all bloody and full of wounds, so that as the prophet saith: "From the sole of the foot to the top of the head there was no whole place in His body." Therefore, dear friend, I pray thee hang this shirt in the privy place of thy chamber, that is to say: set ye Christ's Passion entirely in your heart, and when the fiend or the world or the flesh or any wicked man or woman begins to tempt you to sin, anon wend thy way to thy heart and look ye on this shirt. Think how that blissful body was born of the maid Mary, without sin and sorrow and never did amiss. Think how it was rent and mangled and spat upon for our sins and our sake and not for His own guilt.

And if ye do so, and think entirely upon Christ's Passion, ye shall easily overcome every temptation and have better patience in every tribulation.

In the practical instructions here given upon the seventh commandment, " the theft and robbery of man's name and woman's, and that is called backbiting and defaming," is condemned in vigorous language. Pauper warns his " dear friend " to refuse to listen to the tongue of the detractor.

And, therefore, the wise man saith, put away from thee the wicked mouth, and put far from thy lips backbiting. Hedge thine ears with thorns. Hear not the wicked tongue and make doors to thy mouth and locks to thine ears. Think that he will speak of thee as evil behind thy back as he doth of another behind him. Think what woe and mischief cometh of backbiting and wicked tongues, and show him no good cheer. But show him by thy countenance and cheer that his speech pleaseth thee not, and anon he shall cease and be ashamed of his malice. For the wise man saith: Right as the northern wind destroyeth and scattereth the rain and the clouds, so the heavy face of the hearer destroyeth the backbiting tongue.

Under the same heading of theft, Pauper utterly condemns the conduct of those ecclesiastics who in place of preaching the Gospel and proclaiming God's law, treat their audiences to pretty stories and pretended miracles. I cannot omit to give the passage, as it helps to dispose of the notion that the one idea of the authorities in pre-Reformation days was to cover up abuses, and that one of the chief reasons why the bishops and priests were so vigorous in putting down the Lollard followers of Wyclif was that they were bold enough to publish and denounce their misdeeds.

Also [Pauper writes], there is theft of words, of which theft God speaketh by the prophet, where God calls false prophets and false preachers those who stole away His words from the people, and told not the truth as God bade them, but only said such things that should please the people, and so deceive the people with falsehoods and with false miracles, as men do

nowadays, feigning miracles of images to maintain idolatry for lucre of offerings, and false miracles of wicked livers, and say that God doth miracles for them and blindeth the people in falsity, and so they give the worship of miracle-doing to images that man hath made and to wicked livers, God's enemies, which miracles only God may do. They so rob God of His worship, and in that they withdraw God's word and the truth of God's law, that belongeth to men of Holy Church to teach, and the people to hear and to know, and so they deceive the people in that they be thieves of God's word, and so shall be punished full hard of God for such theft of God's word.

It is hardly necessary to say that the sympathy of Pauper is with the poor. The very name might be sufficient to indicate this; and the truth is—and it is abundantly clear from every record of the early fifteenth century which touches the matter at all—that the Church as a *pia mater* opened her large heart to the poorest members of Christ's flesh in the many troubles and difficulties which beset their path in life at this period. The sufferings and struggles of the people, as distinguished from the classes, enlisted the good offices and engaged the sympathy of many a vigorous preacher and writer among the ecclesiastics of the age. There is no greater mistake as to the true facts of our history than to suppose, as so many do, that the secret of the success of Lollardry lay in the fact that it was popular, and espoused the popular cause and defended the people from the overbearing tyranny of the nobility. Almost the very contrary was the truth. The Church was, in the truest sense, the Church of the poor, and the followers of Wyclif prospered—in so far as they had any prosperity at all—by the countenance and patronage of John of Gaunt and his party among the nobility. The general attitude of Churchmen at this period to the pressing social question may be well illustrated by a passage or two from these instructions.

By the law of kind [says Dives] and by God's law all things are common. Therefore, saith the law, right to the air, nor the

light of the sun may not be departed by lordships, nor appropriated more to one person than to another; nor to one college more than to another. No more should other things that are given commonly to the help of mankind be departed by lordships, nor appropriated more to one than another; but all things should be in common; and therefore we read that in the beginning of Holy Church all things were common to the multitude of Christ's people. And against this law of kind there is no dispensation. Why, therefore, bade God that men should not steal, since all things are common to good men?

Pauper. But as the law saith, division and property of lordship is made amongst mankind by wickedness of false covetousness of both rich and poor. For the rich draw to themselves what belongeth to others. For why? All that the rich man hath passing his honest living after the degree of his dispensation, it is other men's and not his. And he shall give full hard reckoning thereof at the day of doom, when God shall say to him: "Yield account of your bailywick." For rich men and lords in this world are God's bailiffs and God's reeves, to ordain for the poor folk and to sustain them. . . . Also poor folk be not paid with sufficient living, but covet more than they need, and for covetousness, more than for need, take things against the lord's will in hindering of him and of other that be more needy, and therefore God forbade all manner of theft that men should take nothing for any miscovetousness against the lord's will.

Pauper then proceeds to explain at length that though all men are equal in birth there are lordships of kind, of this worldly make, and of governance, which are rightly ordained of God's providence. Still no property gives any one the right to say this is *mine* and that is *thine*; for property, so far as it is of God, is of the nature of "dispensation and governance," that is the power of dispensing God's good gifts to men.*

* Many [of these who dispense God's gifts, he continues] are full false, and yet, since the dispensation of God's worldly goods is so committed to them, in that far they have lordship of their own proper dispensation ordained by God. They are called properly lords of their proper dispensation not for their false covetousness. For in that they are no lords but tyrants and

Further our instructor in a "long process" shows that though according "to degree" more or less will be necessary for the proper support of estate, and more or less will be lawful, still, after due allowance is made for that, then what is over is for the rich man's poorer brethren at his dispensation. He then specially speaks of the duties of the clergy to the poor. He says:

Saint Jerome saith that all that clerks have of Holy Church goods, it is the poor men's, and for help of the poor folk principally Holy Church is endowed. To them that have the benefices and the goods of Holy Church it belongeth principally to give alms and to have the cure of poor people. Therefore St. Bernard saith: "The naked cry and the hungry plain them and say to bishops, what doth gold in your bridles? it may not put away cold and hunger from the bridle. It is ours that you so spend in pomp and vanity. Ye take it from us cruelly and spend it vainly," and in another Epistle he wrote to a Canon thus: "If thou serve well God's altar, it is granted to live by the altar, not to buy thee bridles silver or over-gilt. For what thou keepest for thyself of the altar, passing thy honest needful living, it is raveny, it is theft, it is sacrilege. Therefore these men of Holy Church that buckle their shoes of silver and use great silver harness in their girdles and knives; and men of religion, monks, and canons and such like that use great ouches of silver and gold on their capes to fasten their hoods against the wind, and ride on high horses with saddles harnessed with gold and silver more pompously than lords, are strong thieves and do great sacrilege, so spending the goods of Holy Church in vanity and pride, in lust of the flesh, by which things the poor should live."

To this plain speaking he adds that the tithes were appointed as much to help the poor as the priest. They are to be regarded as an act of worship on the part of

ravenous, and so though they have proper lordship to dispense worldly goods more than the poor people, yet they have no more lordship by way of kind than the poor man, nor no other lordship than the poor man, but only that of dispensation, and so though the rich folk have more lordship of proper dispensation than the poor still, the lordship of nature in needful things standeth still common to rich and poor.

those who pay them; the acknowledgement that all comes from the hand of God; they are not God's profit, but His profit also pays them.

The foregoing extracts afford some insight into this once popular book of English religious instructions. They may fairly be left to tell their own tale.

The language is bold and outspoken to a degree which may perhaps astonish some who are unacquainted with the straight speaking of our Catholic teachers in pre-Reformation days. The honest determination to expose evils and to seek to remedy them is most characteristic of Catholic life in the Middle Ages and most commonly proceeds from the mouths of those most uncompromisingly Catholic in feeling. Before closing this already lengthy paper I should like to make two remarks. First: it will be observed that the *instructor* in this case is not the rich and therefore presumably the better educated man, but the poor man. This is not by accident. Few people who have penetrated below the surface can have failed to perceive how in thoroughly and traditionally Catholic districts the religious poor, though they may not have received much school education, have a grasp and an understanding of the truths and teachings of their religion which puts persons in a better position in life to shame. Secondly: since the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we have undoubtedly progressed and a vast amount of new spiritual books have been accumulated; but I take leave to doubt whether, for weight, for power, for direct appropriateness at the same time to the high and the low, to the rich and the poor, to the gentle and the simple, to the learned and unlearned, we might not do worse than go back to some of the old.

BOOKS AND BOOKMAKING IN EARLY CHRONICLES AND ACCOUNTS*

TURNING over the pages of our annals the reade constantly comes upon some record of books mad for, or given to the library of the monastery or hous in which the writer lived, or in which he was specially interested. Sometimes also in manuscript volumes though not as frequently as we could wish, we find som details of the actual making of a manuscript, of the cost for instance, of the materials, of the payments made fo the writing, for the illumination, and for the binding Less frequently again we come upon chance indication and directions made by one scribe to help a second, o to direct the illuminator and rubricator, who was t follow him in working upon the MS., as to his part i the work.

The churchwardens' books and other similar account help us in a measure to estimate the cost of bookmakin and bookbinding and to understand how, and unde what conditions, the scribe and the binder did the work in the place—parish or house—that employe them. They show us the itinerant bookbinder plying h trade, accompanied not infrequently by his wife to d the stitching of the quires for him. The couple wandere from place to place where their services might be desire and made their bargains for new work and for old; fo complete binding or old patching, settling down for time in the parish or village which needed their hel

* A paper read before the Bibliographical Society, 19 Nov. 19c

astly, old wills and inventories enable us to form some lea of the kind of books possessed by private individuals in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

All this, of course, presents a vast field for any patient nquirer; but for the purpose of a brief paper such as his it is somewhat difficult to know where to begin. As, however, I make no pretence of having made any xhaustive collection of facts from the sources I have ndicated, I will ask you to let me merely illustrate the ind of information we get in them from entries taken lmost at haphazard from the pages of my note books.

From the earliest times, as all know, when (if we are o believe what so many of our would-be instructors tell s) people cared little or nothing about the Bible, and new still less about it, the greatest pains were most ertainly taken in the preparation and embellishment of he Sacred text. Of this, at least, there can be no doubt. Gospel books used in the services and known as *Textus*, were often, if not generally, bound in covers of gold nd other precious metals, and enriched very frequently vith jewels, ivories, or cameos. The Sacred Books were arried in procession by the deacons before chanting the Gospels that all the clergy and people might bow to hem in reverence of the Holy Scripture, and the ewelled volumes were placed upon the altars during the livine service as the most precious of ornaments. The Monk Elmham, for instance, writes in his history that n the sacristy of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, such a *Textus* and a Psalter were preserved to be placed on the ltar on great feasts. "Since," as the same chronicler ells us, "on the outside there was wrought in full relief he image of Christ blessing, and the four evangelists" n silver. And this, as we are told, was merely one of hese precious Scripture books belonging to St. Augustine's. In the same way, in 1077, Abbot Paul, of St. Albans, had made for his monastery "two texts ornamented with gold, silver, and precious gems." We

learn from the St. Albans annalist that this same abb
obtained from a Norman knight two parts of his tit
of the vil of Hatfield towards the expenses of maki
these books. The abbot watched over the work himse
and directed that certain rations of food should be giv
daily to the scribes, in order that they might not
required to leave their work. "In this way," says t
historian, "the abbot caused many splendid volum
to be written for the church by chosen scribes broug
from a distance," and "he had many choice volum
written in the Scriptorium, which he had built, Lanfra
supplying him with the texts to copy."

At the beginning of the thirteenth century Walter
Colchester, a celebrated worker in metals, became
monk of St. Albans, drawn thither by another gre
artist, Br. Ralph Guby. He is said to have boun
Textus in a cover of gold, upon which was chiselled a
wrought, with great skill, a figure of Christ in majest
with the four Evangelists. But it is unnecessary
illustrate this matter further. References to the
precious bindings are to be found scattered all over t
pages of the Monastic Chronicles, and any prop
account of the ornamentation of such books would its
be sufficient to furnish a paper, although possibly t
subject is one more properly relating to art than
bibliography.

The wonderful series of monastic registers of S
Albans printed in the Rolls Series, even from me
incidental references, affords us some idea of how t
library of a great abbey grew through the care
successive abbots. The Abbot Paul, to whom I ha
already referred, ruled the house from 1077 to 1093.
that time he had enriched the collection of books b
twenty-eight manuscripts, most of them apparent
being church books and monastic consuetudinaries. W
can understand why this should have been so if w
remember that Paul was the first Norman abbot, an

o doubt he desired to reconstruct the old Saxon nonastic life on the lines which he knew abroad. For his purpose he introduced Lanfranc's *Consuetudinary*, r book of customs, and during the years of his rule e made St. Albans, as the chronicle records, "almost school of religious observance," to which men were ent to learn the newest mode of monastic discipline. Abbot Paul's successor, Abbot Richard, governed the bbey till 1119. He gave, and had written to give to he abbey many books, but one especially is noted in he *Gesta Abbatum*. This is a missal or mass book to be sed in the daily Conventual Mass. At the beginning f this volume the abbot was himself depicted kneeling t the feet of Our Lord, and on the same page in letters f gold was inscribed his name as that of the donor. It vas in this abbot's time that the well-known fire in the school during the progress of a miracle play happened. In this conflagration there perished several copes that had been lent from the great sacristy of the abbey, as well as many precious books. It is said to have been in reparation for this loss that Geoffrey the schoolmaster offered himself as a monk to serve the monastery. In process of time the schoolmaster rose to be abbot, and whilst holding office was able to give a missal enriched with gold and many other church books to his house.

Abbot Robert, who became superior of St. Albans in 1151, during the fifteen years he ruled the destinies of the abbey, is said to have "had written so many books" that the annalist unfortunately thought "it would occupy too much space to set down their names." Symon, surnamed "the Englishman," was the nineteenth abbot, ruling the monastery from 1167 to 1183. He was a literary man himself, and he did all he could to attract well-educated men to the abbey. He made a collection of the best books, and caused authentic texts of the Old and New Testament and glossed versions to be copied in the Scriptorium without a fault. Here

again the annalist tantalizes us by saying that "
finer books could be seen, but that it would take t
long to set down the list of them." Nor does his additi
to this excuse tend to reconcile us to it: "Still, tho
who wish to see the books themselves," he writes, "ma
find them in the painted press, over against the tom
of Saint Roger in the church, which was made
contain them." "By (looking at) them," he add
"may be understood what a lover of the Scriptur
Abbot Symon really was."

It was this abbot also who created the office
Historiographer at St. Albans, and established
systematic, and we might almost say, scientific metho
of writing history, trained in which school were Matthe
Paris, Walsingham, and the rest. Two or three scrib
were kept constantly at work copying documents, etc
which were collected for this purpose and preserved i
this way. The very handwriting of the St. Alban
school, as all know, is characteristic of the place; th
original master scribe must have impressed his indi
viduality upon his pupils, and have thus handed dow
the very type of handwriting which became traditiona
in the place.

During the time of John, the twenty-first abbot, wh
died in 1214, through the industry of the then head c
the Scriptorium, many important books, well writte
and carefully collated, were added to the monasti
collection. The writer of the *Gesta Abbatum* mention
in particular the *Historia Scholastica cum allegoriis*
which he calls *liber elegantissimus*. It was the work c
Prior Reymund, and may now be seen in the Britis
Museum collection (Royal MS. 4, D vii). It full
deserves the praise bestowed upon it, for its workman
ship is wonderful, the lines and distances most exact
the size of the letters even, and the "flourishing" of th
capitals always elegant. In the *Gesta* it is not made quit
clear when and under what abbot this book was adde

o the monastic collection, for at a later period obviously his same book is described as *librum decentissimum*—very fine book—and it is put down to the benefaction f Abbot William, the successor of the abbot first named s the donor. No doubt the second adscription is correct, s the MS. in the Museum, after the St. Albans press-nark (B gradus) says it is a book of "W. abbatis." Another abbot, Roger, who ruled from 1260 to 1290, pecially collected works on canon law, the "Summas f Reymund and Galfrid" and "Bernard on the Decretals." He also wrote out with his own hand a work of Seneca's, and gave these and many other books nd tracts to the library of his house.

In the first half of the fourteenth century, Abbot Richard Wallingford, the second of the name, who ecame abbot in 1326, with the consent of the seniors ave four books from the monastic library to Richard, f Bury, of *Philobiblon* fame. They were a *Terence*, a *Virgil*, a *Quintilian*, and *St. Jerome against Rufinus*. He lso agreed to sell to the same bibliophile for £50 thirty-wo more books belonging to the house. What the nonks in general thought of this transaction was robably the same as what is expressed by Walsingham. t was, he writes, an *abominable prorsus donum*—ltogether a detestable gift—for books ought to be "the ighest and indeed the sole delight of those who dwell n the cloister." We may note, however, that when nade Bishop of Durham, Richard of Bury restored some f these volumes to St. Alban's, and after his death his xecutors sold others to the next abbot, Michael de Ientmore. It would be wrong, however, whilst speaking f Abbot Richard Wallingford's alienations, not to ecord also the fact that in some ways he enriched the brary. He is said to have "compiled many books of ciences and arts and constructed many astronomical nd geometrical instruments," at the same time com-osing books to teach their use. He collected Decretals

and Constitutions of the Provincial Chapters of t
Order, wrote a commentary on the Prologue of t
Rule of St. Benedict, and compiled a register of t
various privileges granted to his house.

Michael de Mentmore, his successor, to whom I ha
referred, procured two good Bibles for the communit
as well as many other volumes. Two of these latter a
specially named—"an *Ordinale* or *Portiforium*, a
object of beauty and sumptuous in its workmanship
and a most wonderful (*perpulchrum*) *Psalter* for use
the choir and cloister, which volume, adds the annali
rightly, "was a delight to all who saw it." The ne
two abbots, whose rule synchronized with the secon
half of the fourteenth century, built the library an
what is called the "Study," and caused to be made
the Scriptorium, or purchased, a very large number
books to be added to the monastic collection.

Abbot Whethamstede, who in the fifteenth centu
twice ruled St. Albans, gave three books to Humphre
Duke of Gloucester, which were then valued at £1
and a Book on Astronomy to the Duke of Bedfor
worth £3 6*s*. 8*d*. He also paid a monk of Bury S
Edmunds, the poet Lydgate, £3 6*s*. 8*d*. for a translati
of the Life of St. Alban into English. This last, althou
finished, was still only in quires, unbound, upon Whe
hamstede's resignation in 1440. He was re-elected
1451 and, finding that Lydgate's work was still in t
same state, unbound, he spent more than £3 on t
covers and binding, and placed it at the shrine of t
Saint in the church. Abbot Whethamstede was himse
the author of a large and almost encyclopaedic wo
called the *Granarium* in four volumes. A copy of th
was amongst the books mentioned as given by Du
Humphrey to Oxford, and another is named as havi
been copied for St. Albans at the cost of 20 mark
whilst three volumes out of the four are to be foun
among the British Museum MS. collections. In th

regard the account of payments made during Abbot Whethamstede's rule, for the making and compilation of books, and given by Amundesham (vol. ii, p. 260), is of considerable interest. From this account may be well understood the great cost of producing manuscripts at that day—the middle of the fifteenth century—even in a monastic Scriptorium. For the four great *Gradual* books in the choir the abbot paid £20 (probably more than £300 or £400 of our money); a glossed copy of *Boethius de Consolatione* cost £5 (hardly less perhaps than £80). The twenty-three works set out in the first part of the account cost £82 3*s*. 4*d*. in or about 1440: that is, according to the present value of money, probably between £1,300 and £1,500.

I have taken these items from the Chronicles of St. Albans to illustrate the growth of the library under the care of the successive abbots, because the series of these annals is so complete and inviting. The history of any other house, however, would serve the purpose almost equally well. The register of Henry de Estria, Prior of Canterbury, and the Canterbury Book of Obits, for example, contain many interesting records of gifts of volumes to the Christ Church library. Estria himself, for instance, is said to have gathered together at great cost during the forty-seven years of his priorship, "many more books on all kinds of subjects than any of his predecessors." Thomas Chillenden, who was Prior from 1390 to 1411, also was a great and noteworthy book collector, and secured for his house "very many precious volumes of different sorts," and so on. Naturally the library in this cathedral monastery was enriched by gifts from the archbishops. Thus, according to the Obit Book, Archbishop Arundell left the monks "a fine volume containing all the works of St. Gregory," forbidding under pain of excommunication that it should ever be taken away from Christ Church. The monks, however, had some difficulty in getting possession

of the volume after the Archbishop's death, and it wa not indeed until some years after that they succeeded and then only when Prior John petitioned the Duke c Gloucester on the matter. It seems that Sir Gilber Umfraville, Arundell's executor, had given the boo to King Henry IV to look at, and he was not abl during his life to get it back from the monarch. O Henry's death it was found that by his will he ha desired that the book should be given to the Carthusian of Shene, and this had been done. The Prior's petitior which was granted, was that the Prior of Shene shoul be ordered to hand the book to William Molash, mon and almoner of Christ Church, and as the volume clearl belonged to Canterbury, this was ultimately done.

Kings sometimes, as borrowers of books, were difficu to deal with. Besides the instance just named there is note in 1424 that the Countess of Westmorland pet tioned the Duke of Gloucester, the Protector, that sh might have given up to her a book containing th "Chronicle of Jerusalem and the voyage de Godfre Boylion," which the late King Henry V had borrowe and which, at the time, Robert Rolleston, clerk, keep of the wardrobe to the King, held in his keeping as pa of his late master's possessions.

I may here recall a gift of Archbishop Courtenay Christ Church, Canterbury. He left six books, said be very valuable: a work of St. Augustine, a dictiona in three volumes, and the Commentary of De Lira two. His brother, Richard Courtenay, had the use them, but gave a bond for £300 that his executors shou hand the gift over to the monks on his death.

A somewhat curious letter about some books appea in a collection of documents concerning the Premo stratensian Canons, which I have lately been engag upon for the Royal Historical Society. I say "curious because we do not often find a purchaser writing to s that he has paid *too little* for a bargain, and desiring

make restitution. It appears that a certain Thomas Hill, the Rector of Chesterford, some time before 8th September 1458, obtained possession of a portable Bible and a dictionary by purchase. They had been left by a certain clerk named Daniel to the Abbey of Welbeck, and had got into the hands of a priest called Richard Scot, who had been chaplain to Roger Walden, Archbishop of Canterbury, during his brief term of office (1398-9). In 1420, the priest, Thomas Hill, arranged the sale of the two volumes with the Welbeck authorities, but, as he says, "I was young then and looked too much to worldly wealth, and so obtained the books at less than a just price." He consequently charged his executors to give back the books to the abbey on payment of the sum he had paid, namely, 30*s.*; or, if the Canons of Welbeck did not want to wait till his death, he offered to pay down another 20*s.* at once, for the satisfaction of his scruples of conscience. As a third alternative the Rector of Chesterford suggested that should the Canons of Welbeck not wish to purchase the books for the 30*s.* he had given for them, on his death his executors would sell them in open market, and any sum they might fetch over and above the original price, they should pay over to the abbey as conscience money.

Abbot Benedict, of Peterborough, who was chosen in 1177, had been Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, and was a man of great literary attainments. He is said to have been a musician and composed anthems, both words and music. He wrote a "Volumen egregium" on the death and miracles of St. Thomas, and a list is extant of fifty-three volumes which he added to the collection at his abbey of Peterborough. Amongst these were twenty-one volumes of the Bible, glossed and not glossed; two volumes of Peter Lombard; two of the *Decreta* of Gratian, and many other works on canon law; an Arithmetic, a *Seneca*, a *Martial*, and a *Terence*.

Frequently, of course, from the kind of books given to or procured for any religious house we can guess at the special tastes of the donor. Thus Abbot Marleberge of Evesham, before becoming a monk, had taught canon law and civil law at Oxford. He brought his law books to Evesham with him, and he also presented the library with a *Cicero*, a *Lucan*, and a *Juvenal*. During his term of office also he caused many books to be written, and found the necessary materials for others which the monks wrote. So, too, Prior William de Rokeland of Bury brought many law books to his abbey; and one monk, Stephen, who was a doctor of medicine, gave "three large and very beautiful books on medical science" to guide "in the treatment of the sick."

Much information regarding the cost of books and of the materials for making them can be obtained from accounts and such like documents. Mr. Ansty, in the *Munimenta Academica* (I, xiii), gives the bill for writing the book of the Southern Proctor at Oxford in 147[illegible]. The actual writing cost £3 17*s*. 4*d*., the illumination £1 5*s*. 8*d*., the binding 7*s*. 2*d*., and the two clasps 12*s*.; a fee of 3*s*. 4*d*. was also paid for the loan of the copy and £1 3*s*. 4*d*. to the Proctor for overseeing the work, that is, I suppose, collating it. The whole bill of £7 8*s*. 10*d*., when translated into the money value of our day, appears very large, but for rare books almost any price was paid. The Countess of Anjou, for a copy of the Homilies of Haimon, Bishop of Halberstadt, gave two hundred sheep, five quarters of wheat, and the same quantity of rye. Even as late as 1433, £66 13*s*. 4*d*. was paid for transcribing the Works of Nicholas de Lira, two volumes, destined to be chained in the library of the Grey Friars at Oxford. An idea of the value of this cost may be gathered from the fact that the usual price of wheat at the time was 5*s*. 4*d*. per quarter, and that a ploughman received one penny a day for his wages.

In the inventory of the royal library of Charles V

of France, made by order of the Duke of Bedford in 1423, the books are all priced. It is remarkable that, compared with the prices set on the books of the Duc de Berri in 1416, all are priced very low. Whilst the dearest book in the royal library was 16 livres and the cheapest 5 sous, the dearest in the Berri collection was put at 500 livres. It is not unlikely that the Duke of Bedford, desiring to purchase the entire collection—which he afterwards did for 1,200 livres—had them valued as low as possible; even then they were put at 2,323 livres, above 1,000 livres more than the Duke gave. It would be of great interest to discover what became of the books of this wonderful library. It is surmised that they generally came over to England, although, as M. Delisle has pointed out, some came back. In the library of St. Geneviève there is a *Livy* with an inscription on a fly-leaf saying that it was sent to England as a present to the Duke of Gloucester by his brother-in-law, the Duke of Bedford. A note also at the beginning of a copy of Durandus' *Rationale* which belonged to this famous collection, says that it was purchased in London in 1441.

An indenture, dated 26th August 1346, and printed in the Fabric Rolls of York by the Surtees Society (vol. xxxv, p. 165), is useful as giving an excellent account of the prices paid for work on MSS. in the fourteenth century. In this instance Robert Brekeling, the scribe, undertook to write a Psalter with a Calendar for 5*s.* 6*d.*, and, in the same style of writing, the Office for the Dead with a collection of hymns and collects, for an additional 4*s.* 3*d.* He also promised in this contract to illuminate the first letters of the psalms in gold and colours, and the rest of the first letters in gold and red, except the titles of double feasts, which were to be in workmanship like the initial letters of the Psalter. Also all the first letters of the verses (of the Psalms) were to be in good blue and red, and all letters at the begin-

nings of the Nocturnes, or divisions of the office
Matins, were to be five lines of the MS. in size, and to
well painted; the initials of the *Beatus Vir* and t
Dixit Dominus especially were to be larger still, six
seven lines in size. For all this illumination Robe
Brekeling was to receive only 5*s.* 6*d.* over and abo
18*d.*, which was allowed him for the gold, and 2*s.* for t
colours.

Other examples to illustrate the prices of MS. wo
are to be found in the same Fabric Rolls. In 1498 t
great "Antiphoner" for the lectern in the choir
York Cathedral was written, illuminated, and bound f
the sum of £4 9*s.* 6½*d.* A century before, in 1393, t
writing of two Graduals for the choir cost £4 6*s.* 8
Richard de Styrton charged 40*s.* for illuminating then
22*s.* 7½*d.* was paid for the parchment, and 4*d.* for so
linen covers or bags to keep the unbound quires in a
prevent their getting soiled. The next year, 139
£4 13*s.* 3*d.* was paid to the same scribe, friar Willia
Ellerker, for the parchment and writing of four boo
for choir use. In 1395 Robert, the bookbinder, was pa
10*s.* for binding one of the great Graduals for the cho
of York: four skins of parchment as guards in t
insides of the binding cost 20*d.*, and the skin of a de
for the outside 3*s.* 2*d.* Again in 1399 "Robert Buk
bynder" had to bind another book called the "Gre
Gradual." The guard leaves in this case were the ski
of four young calves, and the skin of a specially larg
deer had to be procured for the binding at the cost
4*s.* Friar W. Ellerker, according to previous agreemen
was paid 13*s.* 4*d.* for writing the Gradual, and Mr. R.
Styrton 20*s.* for illuminating it.

In 1526 there is an interesting entry in these sam
Rolls about music books: Leonard Mason, the Canto
was paid 10*s.* by the Dean's order for two books
four-part music with "Kyrreallay" and masses. Anothe
musician, John Gibbons, was given 3*s.* 4*d.* for "le

prikking "—*i.e.*, writing in the music of the hymns and *Te Deum* in several choir books.

The illuminator and the corrector followed the scribe in the preparation of all books which demanded care or which were to receive the embellishment of painted initial letters, or of those larger miniature paintings, which are best evidence of the love of books in those who paid for them, and of the art of those who executed the work. Curiously enough, whilst it is not uncommon to find the name of the ordinary scribe at the end of a MS., it is very and strangely rare to find any record of the artist who embellished it. M. Delisle explains this by the suggestion that the illuminators, generally laymen, were forbidden to add anything whatsoever to a MS., whilst the ordinary scribe, frequently a cleric, had greater freedom given to him. Sometimes, however, the artist managed to get his name recorded, and Delisle speaks of a Bible at the end of which is " Explicit textus Biblie Robertus de Billyng me fecit. Amen." Between the strokes of Billyng's signature are some vermilion lines which, on being closely examined, proved to be the following: " Jehan Pucelle, Ancian de Cans, Jacquet Maci, ils hont enluminé ce livre ci: ceste ligne de Vermeillon que vous vées fu escrite en l'an de grace mille ccc xxvii. en un jeudi, darrenier jour d'avril."

At the end of a MS. in the Burgundian Library at Brussels is a useful bill of the cost of the volume. The transcription cost 44 espèces; the loan of the MS. to copy 7; the illuminator for making a miniature in grisaille 4; and the paper 6 espèces—in all 61 espèces, or about 2,260 francs of our money. This is an interesting example, as it is not very common to find the cost of the book set down within its own covers.

In regard to the actual work of making books, and notes left by the scribes in the margin, an example given by M. Delisle from a *Pontifical* made for Pope Benedict XIII, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, may

be recalled to the memory. Many notes in this volum indicate to the painter the subject he is to paint an how he is to treat it. For example, "The Pope on hi throne:" "here the Pope kneeling:" here "a stole i to be painted," etc. In this case the name of the artis is known. It is Brother Sencius Gonterii, and he receive for all his work 17 florins and *7d.* The marginal note of scribes, which are intended for others that come afte them to finish the work, might often escape attentior but they furnish most instructive information abou mediaeval bookmaking. For example, let us take MS Reg. 3, E VI—the Four Gospels glossed. This is a ver good instance of the extreme care taken in correctin on collation. The scribal errors are here very numerou and considerable: they have been indicated by th corrector in the margin with a leaden style, in a regula and neat hand. After this had been done, the correction so indicated have been entered on erasures in the text and this method may be seen exemplified throughou the volume. Also in portions of the book scriptural an patristic references have been indicated with th plummet, but have never been executed or written in Or take in the same Royal Collection 4, A 11—a cop of a glossed Genesis. This is about as good a book as w could desire for showing how it was managed that th indications to the rubricator did not appear when th volume was completed. A line of piercing points wa drawn on the parchment in the first instance to indica where the binder should cut the leaves: then the lette or headings, which it was intended should be put in b the rubricator, were placed just outside this line, an when he had done his work and these letters or heading had found their place in the MS., the notes were slice off by the knife of the binder following along the line pierced points.

Royal MS. 3, C II, affords an example of anoth kind. The book is also a glossed Genesis; and it

chiefly interesting perhaps for the marginal notes. Someone has been all through the volume, noting in the margin all the passages of Holy Scripture referred to in the various extracts from the Fathers, which make up the gloss. The way this was done was apparently as follows:—First someone went through the volume entering in these references in the usual "scrabble" hand with a leaden style, and when this was done a trained scribe went through the sheets and copied them all in the formal writing in the usual way. The original style scrabbles are still visible throughout the book, and this fact makes the volume a very useful text-book for learning to read these crabbed, hurried notes, which occur in so many MSS., and which are often too tantalizing for those who would decipher them. Here the formal hand of the rubricator has translated them for us.

To go back to the expenses of mediaeval bookmaking: in the book of "Expenses of Sir John Howard, Kt., of Stoke Neyland, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk, 1462-1469," we have an interesting account of payments made in 1467 for the making of a Psalter. The document runs:

Item the 28th day of July my mastyr rekened with Thomas Lympnour of Bury, and my master paid him for 8 hole vynetes [vignettes], prise the vynett xii*d* – 8*s*.
Item for 21.di. vynetts, prise the di. vynett 4*d* – 6*s*.
Item for psalmes lettris 1500 & di the prise of a c. 4*d* – 5/2
Item for parvis [or small] lettris 6300 prise of a c. 1*d* – 5/3.
Item for wrytenge of a quare & di pryse the quayre 20*d* – 2/6
Item for wrytenge of a Calender – 12*d*
Item for 3 quayres of Velym prise the quayre 20*d* – 5/-
Item for notynge of v quayres & 2 leves prise of the quayre 8*d* – 3/7*d*
Item for capital drawinge iii c & di – the price 3*d*
Item for floryshynge of Capytallis v.c. – 5*d*
Item for byndynge of the boke – 12*s*.

To this bill we have a note appended: "The wyche

parcellis my mastyr paid him this day and he is content
In the above account we possess a very detailed accou
of all the expenses of making, illuminating, and bindi
a book in the fifteenth century. Beginning with t
purchase of the vellum required, we notice tha
apparently, two quires and two leaves were furnished
the scribe, since, whilst only three quires were purchase
the book consisted of five quires and two leaves. T
preparation, or " notynge " as it is called, of the vellu
is charged for as an extra. This no doubt refers to ruli
the margins and lines, making the pricking points, a
generally preparing each leaf for the writing and paintin
that was to be placed on to it. Then comes the lar
and small formal lettering, for which different pric
were charged: by " psalm letters," which in this ca
numbered 1,550, I understand the bigger letters it w
usual to have at the beginning of each verse of a psal
for each of which the charge was four times the amou
paid for the ordinary letter. Besides this there is
charge made for writing a quire and a half in the ordina
character of the handwriting of the period, and for t
Calendar at the beginning, for which 12*d.* was charge
For the 350 ordinary capital letters which had to
" drawn "—that is, I suppose, were too elaborate to
merely written with the ordinary pen—an extra of 3
was paid; whilst the " floryshynge " of 500 oth
capital letters cost 5*d.* a hundred. The illuminatio
was a special item of charge; in this psalter there wer
apparently, eight whole page pictures—" vynetts "
they are called—and twenty-one half-page; for t
former the price was one shilling, and for the latt
sixpence each. Finally, for the binding of the boo
there was charged twelve shillings, which sugges
rather a sumptuous binding.

In the same book of accounts, I may perhaps
permitted to add, are two not uninteresting items. T
same day, notes the keeper of the accounts, " m

nastyr paid for painting of two chesse bordes 20*d.*," nd on 3rd May 1464, it is recorded that " my mastyr ayd to John Gyldre for two bokys, a Frenshe boke nd an Yenglyshe boke calyd *Dives et Pauper*, bought t Maningtree, 13*s.* 4*d.*"

A PILGRIMAGE TO THE HOLY LAN

A.D. 1506 *

PILGRIMAGES to the holy places and the shrines the Saints were some of the most constant featu of mediaeval life. In England the special chapels a altars and tombs to which the people flocked to p their devotions, or to beg the intercession of Our La and the Saints to obtain some favour from God Almigh were almost countless; and to the ports nearest to t more renowned Sanctuaries, such as Glastonbury a Walsingham and Canterbury, shiploads of forei pilgrims were brought; just as other shiploads of Er lish were borne across the sea to Rome or Compostel In the fifteenth century and particularly towards close, this Catholic spirit of devotion displayed its perhaps more conspicuously than in earlier da Caxton tells us in the Preface to *The Cordyal*—a tra on the Four Last Things—that the book was translat by Earl Rivers; "who sythen the tyme of the gr tribulacion and adversitie of my saide lorde, hath be ful vertuously occupied, as in goyng of pilgrimagis Seint James in Galice; to Rome; to St. Barthylme to St. Andrew; to St. Mathew in the royalme of Nap and to Seint Nicholas of Bar in Puyle and other dyve holy places."

Of pilgrimages such as these of Earl Rivers unf tunately we have very few accounts, and these are best very meagre and unsatisfactory. There is, inde

* From the *Downside Review*, 1906.

one exception, and that is the story of a *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* to the Holy Land, in the year 1506, which was printed in 1511 by Richard Pynson. It is such a rare book, however, that Sir Henry Ellis, when editing the tract for the Camden Society in the year 1851, considered that the copy in the Grenville Library at the British Museum was probably unique. Issued more than fifty years ago to the members of a Society, it is possibly little known at the present day, and it may not be without interest to give some account of this pilgrimage taken from Sir Henry Ellis' reprint.

The journey to Jerusalem in those days was not only most arduous, but took a goodly sum of money to accomplish. When Richard I arrived at Marseilles, he is said to have found quite a number of would-be pilgrims to the Holy Places, who had waited so long a time that their funds were entirely exhausted. In the eleventh century we hear of a vast pilgrimage consisting of thirty Norman knights and clerks, which at one time was the nucleus of a body of some seven thousand pilgrims which had gradually gathered together. Ingulph, who tells the story, says that when this company got among the Arabs, they were quickly "eviscerati de infinitis pecuniis," otherwise "bak-sheesh." Having made their pilgrimage they returned home; but "de triginta equitibus, qui de Normannia pingues eximus, vix viginti pauperes peregrini, et omnes pedites, macie multa attenuati, reversi sumus."

As a rule English pilgrims to Jerusalem would make their way to Marseilles and thence proceed by ship to Jaffa. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, however, after there had been a long break in the continuity of English pilgrimages to the Holy Land, the route chosen was by Venice to Palestine. We find this to have been the case with Sir Richard Guildford's party, and with that of Sir Richard Torkington who followed in their footsteps in 1517. At the close of the former

account the writer states that "pilgrims are alway accustomed to take their galley immediately afte Corpus Xti day" from Venice, and he explains that was because they delayed their departure till six week later that they were on their return caught by "th stormy weather" of "the dread wynter season."

Before speaking of Sir Richard Guildford and hi journey, it is interesting to remark that the pilgrimag of Sir Richard Torkington was conducted on the sam lines as that of his predecessor in more ways than on The account of the first pilgrimage was printed b Pynson in 1511, and without doubt the pilgrims c 1517 took a copy of the little volume with them as the *Baedeker*, and again and again descriptions, for instanc are given in the words of the print. This is a practic not uncommon in the later pilgrimages and tends t render their record useless and uninteresting. Earli voyages were made use of, as modern guide book sometimes now are by those who kept diaries of the travels abroad, and whole passages were "lifted from the earlier accounts to adorn the pages of the late

Sir Richard Guildford, the chief pilgrim, was a man some note in England. He was born at Rolvenden Kent about the middle of the fifteenth century. H was probably with Henry VII at the battle of Boswort in 1485, and he held many offices of trust under th first Tudor sovereign until 1506, when he set out o his journey to Jerusalem. On 7th April of that ye he made his will, and next day, accompanied by Joh Whitby, prior of Gisburn in Yorkshire, a chaplain, wh subsequently wrote the account of the journey, an some two or three others, he embarked at Rye on th first stage of his journey to Palestine.

"The Wednesday at night in Passion Week, whic was the 8th day of April, the year of Our Lord Go 1506, about ten o'clock the same night, we shipped Rye in Sussex and the next day, which was Sh

Thursday about noon, we landed at Kyryell (Criel at the mouth of the Teres) and rode to Dieppe the same night."* The next morning they pushed on towards Rouen, stopping to hear their Good Friday "divine service" at Tôtes and remaining for Holy Saturday and Easter Day at the former cathedral city.

The pilgrims then passed through France, Savoy, and North Italy to Venice, which they reached on 16th May. Here they remained some weeks waiting for a ship to take them to Jaffa. During that time they went to Padua for the feast of St. Anthony, which was kept with "Great Solemnity" on 13th June. "There was," says the writer of the travels, "the same day a solemn procession, whereat were borne many relics, and the number of doctors of Civil Law and of Physic was great exceedingly." The celebrated abbey of St. Justina struck these Englishmen and they describe it as "a place of Black monks, right delectable, and also solitary."

Returning to Venice the pilgrims visited the sanctuaries and shrines of the "City of the Sea." At St. Mark's they noted the wonderful jewels and precious relics. "There is a great Chalice of fine gold of curious work set with many precious stones," says the author, "which is in height three quarters of a yard; it is too large to use at Masse, but they use it in adorning the Altar at principal times and in their procession on Corpus Christi day. There are also two great candlesticks among others of wonderful greatness, that are right curiously wrought and are fine gold, garnished all over with stones of great price."

These English visitors were evidently delighted with their experiences at Venice. "The richness, the sumptuous buildings, the religious houses and the establishment of their justices and councils, with all other things," says the chronicler, "maketh the city glorious, and

* The spelling has been modernized throughout.

surmounteth in Venice above all places that I ever saw
Then, after describing the festival of the "Marriage
the Sea" held upon the day of Our Lord's Ascensio
he speaks of the great day of Corpus Christi, "on whi
was the most solemn procession that I ever saw. The
went Pageants of the Old Law and the New La
joining together the figures of the Blessed Sacrame
in such number and so apt and convenient for the fea
that it would make any man joyous to see it. A
besides that it was a great marvel to see the gre
number of religious folk and of schools, which we c
brotherhoods or fellowships, with their devices, all
whom bore lights of a wondrous goodly fashion. A
between each of the pageants went little children
both kinds, gloriously and richly dressed, bearing
their hands in rich cups or other vessels some pleasa
flowers or other well smelling or rich stuff, dressed
angels to adorn the said procession. The form a
manner thereof exceeded all other that ever I saw
much that I cannot write it. The Duke sat in Sa
Mark's Church in right high state, with all the Seignio
and all the pilgrims present. The Duke thus sittin
the said procession came by him and began to p
about seven o'clock, and it was past twelve before t
said procession came once about, passing by as fast
they might go."

It was on Friday, 3rd July, that the galley with
pilgrims on board left the harbour of Venice a
anchored for the night a few miles outside. No do
the usual ceremonies for the starting of a ship w
pilgrims on board were carried out in this instan
The Priests and Clerks first mounted to the round-t
castle and chanted psalms and litanies for a prosper
voyage. This was followed by the *Veni Creator* in wh
all joined, and during the singing of which the s
were set in God's name and the vessel started on its v
to the strains of the *Salve Regina*.

I pass over the account of the voyage and of the places the pilgrims visited by the way. They landed when they could to procure provisions and to hear Mass; as for instance at Cyprus, where the writer notes: "We went on land to Mass, and refreshed us with fresh victuals." About forty miles from Jaffa a pilgrim ship crossed them on its return journey. These pilgrims had left Venice three weeks ahead of them, had made their pilgrimage and were on their way back to the Adriatic. The Holy Land was first sighted on Monday, 17th August, "and as soon as we had sight of (it)," says our author, "we sung *Te Deum* and thanked joyously Almighty God that had given us such grace to have once the sight of that most holy land."

The next day, Tuesday, "at night about 6 o'clock," that was the 18th August, they came to Jaffa and anchored in the roadstead. But their weary stay on board a ship was not yet at an end: before they dare land they had to send to Jerusalem to the warden of Mount Sion to come and conduct them into the Holy City; and they were compelled to wait seven days before "the lords of Jerusalem and Rama—without whose presence and conduct no Pilgrim can land," were able to come to the port. Two more days were spent in debating what tribute should be paid for liberty to disembark; and so it was not until 27th August, almost eight weeks after taking ship at Venice, that the Pilgrims set foot upon the soil of Palestine. On landing fresh troubles were awaiting them: "as we came out of the boat," writes the chaplain, "we were received by the Mamelukes and Saracens, and put into an old Cave (every one) by name and tally, their scrivener even writing our names man by man as we entered into the presence of the said Lords. And there we lay in the same grotto or cave all day Friday, upon bare, stinking stable ground, as well night as day, right evilly entreated by the Moors."

In the early morning of Saturday, 29th August, th pilgrims were allowed to leave Jaffa and put up for th night in the hospital built for the reception of traveller at Rama by Duke Philip of Burgundy. There wa nothing there, however, but the bare walls, except well of fresh water " which was much to our comfort. Here both Sir Richard Guildford and the Prior c Gisburn became so ill that they could not move again and " therefore," says the writer, " with great difficult and outrageous cost, we purveyed camels for them an certain Mamelukes to conduct them in safety to Jeru salem." It is hardly necessary for the writer to add tha these people " entreated us very evil, and took muc more for their pains than their covenant " bargained fo

I need not give the details of the visits made to th Holy Places minutely narrated in the account. Th pilgrims were lodged close to the Holy Sepulchre an the Franciscans saw to their necessaries, if not to thei comforts, and acted as their guides during the time o their stay, " informing and showing us," says ou author, " the holy places within the Holy Land."

Neither Sir Richard Guildford nor the Prior o Gisburn were able to be with the pilgrims on thei visits to the shrines of the Holy City, and the neigh bourhood. In fact, the illness which had develope during their voyage and which had declared itself o their first landing was aggravated by their transport o the back of camels to Jerusalem, where on Saturday 5th September, as our author relates, " Master Prior o Gisburn, deceased about two or three o'clock in th afternoon; and the same night late, he was had t Mount Sion and there buried. And the Sunday at nigh about one or two of the clock after midnight, my Maste Sir R. Guildford, whom God assoyle, deceased and wa had the same morning to Mount Sion before day."

" And the same Monday, Our Lady's Even, th Nativity, all the pilgrims came to Mount Sion, to th

burying of my said Master Guildford, where was done by the friars as much solemn service as might be done for him." The death of the two chief Englishmen among the pilgrims did not long delay their companions in making the usual round of sight seeing and in performing the required spiritual exercises. In fact, "after the funeral the same afternoon we went," says the writer, "to Bethany, which is beyond the Mount of Olivet, about four miles from Jerusalem." Thence they passed on to the Jordan valley, visited Jericho and the Dead Sea, "where sometime stood the cities of Sodom and Gomorrha. Also beside the Dead Sea is the statue of Salt of Lot's wife, but," adds our author, "that place standeth so that it is very laborious to see." Having seen everything that was to be seen, and having gained all the indulgences to be obtained at the various shrines, "we made us ready," writes the chaplain, "and by one assent dressed ourselves to return to our galley. And there we took humbly our leave of the holy places and of the most blessed city of Jerusalem, reckoning ourselves not so happy to see any more the same in all our lives, and thanking Almighty God with all our hearts for the great grace that he had given us, to see and visit the same blessed places and the holy city once in our lives before we died. And thus with right light and joyous hearts, warned by our dragomen and guides, we all came to Mount Sion on Monday, the 14th day of September, the which was Holy Rood day, about three o'clock in the afternoon. There we found all ready, the Lords Mamelukes, as well of Jerusalem as of Rama and others, with their folks to the number of three hundred horsemen, to conduct us to Jaffa. And so, there at the said Mount Sion we took our asses and rode forth at the said time, and we never alighted to visit them until we came to Rama, which is thirty long miles from Jerusalem. And, about two hours before day that same night we came to Rama and alighted

there at the Hospital, being right weary of that journe
for the beasts we rode upon were right weak and rig
simple and evilly trimmed to journey with."

After a couple of days rest the returning pilgrim
reached Jaffa "soon after noon" on Thursday, 17
September. They had another experience of the Jaf
grotto or cave where they had suffered so much on the
first landing in the country. "Here we lay in th
grotto," writes our author, "all that night, and we
right evilly treated by the Saracens in many ways; an
(we were) in great fear, which were too long to write.

"Friday about night time, with great difficulty, wi
much patience and also with large departing of o
money [more 'baksheesh'] we were delivered on boa
of our galley, and Saturday, the 19th day of Septembe
we made sail homeward with right great joy." T
return journey from Jaffa to Venice was full of adve
ture. Ill luck seemed to pursue the vessel, which w
driven about out of its course by constant storm
There were rumours too of Moorish vessels that were
the look out for the pilgrim ships to exact ransom fro
them, and which had already "lately taken many sa
of Christian men." Once when the "wind began
enforce and blew outrageously," and "all night indur
a wondrous great tempest, as well by exceeding ov
blowing of wind as by continual lightning," the sh
had to run before the storm over a hundred miles ba
on its course. At another time, on All Hallow's E
they had no sooner started from their shelter, than t
storm again sprung up with renewed violence. Th
were then nearly being cast on a desert island, and o
got an anchor to hold when all had given themselves
for lost. For "by this time," says our author, "we w
almost driven upon the rock, which was hideous a
almost fearful to look upon; which rocks with all
isles are deserts, and upon the coasts of Turkey, wh
caused us to be the more in fear, in so much every m

made himself ready to (appear before) Almighty God, and dressed themselves in readiness with such things as they thought would best help them on shore to save their lives. And no one waited for any other, but every man made shift for his escape as Almighty God would give them grace."

Then they ran short of provisions and were driven almost to desperation, but providentially came in sight of the isle of Candia; whereof, says the writer, "we made great joy, not only for the happy escape from the great danger we were late in, but also for the lack and scarcity of victuals that was in our galley, for not only the patron, but also the pilgrims and the sailors were clearly disprovided of bread, wine and all other victuals." So the next morning we landed there, and after Mass we rested ourselves and refreshed us after our great fear and trouble with such victuals and necessaries as we found there, and so re-comforted ourselves after the great scarceness that we had sustained many days before."

The storms, however, were still to trouble them. One night in November, our author says, "there arose a marvellous great tempest and exceeding rain, and with the greatest rage of wind that ever I saw in all my life; and so incessantly it continued all that night, in so much where we had out two anchors they held not firmly, but raised and dragged by the violence of that outrageous storm, by the force whereof we were almost driven upon a rocky shore. And great pity it was to see what tribulation and fear the mariners had that night and also the pilgrims, who rose from our lodgings and drew together, and devoutly and fearfully sang *Salve Regina* and other anthems, and we all gave money and vowed a pilgrimage to our blessed Lady *de Miraculis* at Venice . . . and likewise the mariners (promised to) make a pilgrimage at their own costs and charges—and with great devotion and prayer of some well disposed pilgrims there, and every man hanging in this great

fear, with the outrageous cries and clamours of th mariners, they let fall the third anchor, which thanks b to Almighty God, held fast and kept our galley fron driving any further and so we rode out the fierce storn for that night."

And so, sometimes beaten by the storm out of thei course, sometimes lying in the trough of the sea, withou wind enough to steady their vessel, sometimes hangin on to their anchors, hoping that the gales would pas and fair weather would follow, they spent the weeks ti the New Year's day, which came upon a Friday. Th change of fortune, however, did not come with th beginning of January. For "the night following then arose a wondrous great tempest of exceeding muc wind. And therewith it rained and hailed so unreason ably that no man might look forth above the hatches And by the force of this tempest we were fain to strik all our sails and drift in the sea as God would. An what for the great cry and noise of the mariners an galyettes, and for the noise and sight of the hideou and fearful storm and tempest, there was no man tha took any rest that night. (And though) soon afte midnight the great tempest began to swage and wa less, howbeit the wrought (up) seas tossed and rolled u right grievously."

All things, however, come to an end, and on Monda the 25th January the three English pilgrims reache Venice once more, "wondrous glad and joyous of ou safe arrival there and thanked Almighty God, as w had cause to do"; for they had been nineteen week and one day on the sea coming from Jaffa. At Venic they only delayed long enough to accomplish thei vowed pilgrimage to the *Madonna della Salute*, and the turned their faces homeward. Five weeks after leavin Venice they reached Calais, and on the 9th March 150 they landed at Dover, having been absent from Englan on their pilgrimage one whole year all but twenty-nin days.

A DAY WITH THE ABBOT OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S, CANTERBURY, IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY*

THE dissolution of the English monasteries destroyed more than the mere material structures. It obliterated, with a completeness which is most remarkable, almost every indication of the life which the inmates had led in these "great and solemn houses of religion." In lieu of any reliable evidence as to what was undoubtedly a feature in the social life of the country, until the crash came and the monks were ejected from their cloisters, we have the traditional account set about by those who, having taken forcible possession of the ests, desired to paint the former possessors as very lack birds indeed. "The less said the better" about hose monks and nuns was, until very recent times, the sual formula by which any incautious enquirer was arned to hold his tongue and stifle his curiosity. If his was not sufficient, then those who pretended to now reluctantly shook their heads over the idle, norant, and vicious lives of those poor deluded men nd women.

Times are somewhat changed now; and people want o know what really was the case. Hence, any indication, owever small, of the lives and characters of preeformation religious is precious and interesting to the storical enquirer in these by-paths of research into ie past. Unfortunately, however, there is apparently

* From the *Downside Review*, 1900.

little enough to be gleaned in this field of enquiry, and it is quite by chance that even a glimpse is afforded into this old world. A chance legal document, for example, tells us just a little about the school at Glastonbury, and some readers of the *Downside Review* may remember that another enquiry in the Court of Chancery gives us the picture of the Venerable Abbot Whiting walking in the monastic garden and sitting in the green arbour there in converse with his neighbour Lord Stourton; and John Aubrey, the Wiltshire antiquary, gives us the precious recollections of "Old Jacques, who could see from his house the nuns of the priory [of St. Mary, near Kingston St. Michael] come forth into the nymph-ha[y] [or meadow, on the east side of the house, with a delightful prospect on the south-east] with their rock[s] [*i.e.* distaffs] and wheels, to spin, and with their sewing work. He would say that he had told threescore and ten; but of nuns there were not so many, but in all with lay-sisters, as widows, old maids and young girls there might be such a number." "This" (exclaims old John Aubrey) "was a fine way of breeding up young women, who are led more by example than precept, and a good retirement for widows and grave single women to a civil, virtuous and holy life." With few exceptions then, any indication of the life led by the English monks and nuns of old is shrouded in mysterious darkness. A veil—I suspect not unintentionally—has from the first been drawn over this side of past English life, and we are almost as ignorant of the men who lived in the moss-grown and ivy-clad piles which rise as if witness of a great catastrophe, as we are of the builders of the ruined cities of Mashonaland, or of the peoples who carved the rocks in the forests of Yucatan.

It is just because all is here so dark and every ray of light is so welcome that I present the readers of the *Downside Review* with a narrative which I chanced upon and which is described fairly accurately by the title

have given it, *A Day with the Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in the Sixteenth Century*. The abbot in question, I would ask my readers to remember, is John Essex, the last abbot of the venerable Benedictine abbey which traced its origin back to Ethelbert and St. Augustine. The house, at any rate in the later centuries that preceded its destruction, was somewhat overshadowed by its great monastic cathedral neighbour of Christchurch, which, as the See of the Metropolitan, occupied a high position in the Church of England. Moreover, when the end came in the sixteenth century, a dark shadow, so at least it has long been thought, rested over the good name of St. Augustine's Abbey. It was not known in any way to have moved with the times, and it had no particular reputation for learning or special work, at a time when men's minds generally were being stirred by the revival of literary studies. And besides this negatively bad character, positive charges of the most odious kind were formulated by the visitors of Henry against this very Abbot, John Essex, with whom we are now chiefly concerned, and some at least of his monks. It may be hoped that by this time few people, without further evidence than the mere word of these discredited royal agents, are ready to believe these unsavoury reports. But as the story I am going to relate has to do with two of those who are thus incriminated at St. Augustine's, it is well to bear this in mind, as this is no mere hearsay evidence, but comes from one who knew these said monks intimately.

As is so often the case, this glimpse into the past comes from an unexpected quarter. In 1590 Thomas Twyne, a learned doctor of medicine and a member of both universities of Oxford and Cambridge, published a small volume containing a tract in Latin, written by his father, John Twyne, the celebrated antiquary. The latter had held the post of schoolmaster in the Canterbury School, and was well acquainted with the monks

both at Christchurch and St. Augustine's. The work i question, now very rare, is entitled: *De rebus Albionici Britannicis atque Anglicis, Commentariorum libri duo.* I is not, it must be confessed, a promising title for a wor likely to contain much of interest on our subject, an I came upon it almost by chance in the course of thorough examination of all books of English origi printed in the sixteenth century. The motto on the titl page, taken from Cicero's *De Divinatione,* at once inter ested me: "Quis est quem non moveat clarissimi monumentis testata consignataque antiquitas?" but was little prepared for what the tract disclosed abou the abbot and prior of St. Augustine's on the eve of th dissolution of the monastery.

John Twyne, who prints the little volume, says in hi introduction that its author, his father, died in the yea 1581, "an old man, and in the opinion of many capabl judges very learned." As its name implies, the trac discusses the early antiquities of this island, an gathers together the quotations from Greek and Lati writers, pagan and Christian, which seem in any wa to refer to the country. The form of the treatise is cas in the shape of a conversation which is supposed to hav been held at a country house belonging to St. Augustine Abbey, between John Essex—or Vokes, as he is he called—the last abbot; John Digon, the last prio and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, who, becoming first Dean o the Cathedral of Christchurch, Canterbury, upon th expulsion of the monks, was considered to be one of th most brilliant men of his time, and was employed o many embassies to foreign countries. This conversatio is, of course, imaginary, and is used here merely t convey the information in a pleasant form; but tha the author should have made choice of these character as his spokesmen at such a time—"*in tanta temporu iniquitate*"—to use his own words—is not a litt remarkable. But, more than this: he specially tells u

that to his own knowledge, not only were his characters during their lives fully capable of sustaining the rôle he set them, but that he had himself often heard them carrying on discussions similar to that which in this tract he supposes them to hold.

In the letter to his son which introduces the tract proper, John Twyne tells him that he has composed it to give him the benefit of his knowledge, and implies that after having taught him as far as "*privati sudores mei*" would allow, he had sent him to Oxford to reap there "the fruit of good letters." As Thomas Twyne came to Corpus Christi College "from Kent in 1560," it seems not unlikely that the tract would have been written some time early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. "I have dedicated the work to your name," the father says, "that you may have what you have asked for, a pledge of my undying love for you; and if ever you find time amidst your necessary studies, to read these papers, I shall think myself abundantly rewarded for my labour." He then tells him that as a lad he had himself seen "Richard Foxe, at one time Bishop of Winchester, but then an aged man, honoured indeed by all, but blind." For himself, he says, after religious learning, 'which teaches the way of eternal life," together with the study of grammar and rhetoric, and the reading of the poets and orators, together with history and mathematics and other graver studies, he had, even indeed when he had held the office of a public teacher, always turned with pleasure and profit to the consideration of the lessons taught by antiquity. About England especially he had read every book and searched in every writer for any scrap of information as to the origin of his people. From early youth he had taken the highest interest in all discussions about the antiquity of his race and country, and had looked on all who were instructed in this matter "as men to be venerated and men whose acquaintance was to be cultivated."

" Wherefore," he continues, " as even at this time willingly confess that I have the most pleasing memor of the conversations of learned men of old, I hav arranged what I have to say as to the antiquity o Britain in the form of a conversation among grav people. Often it seems to me that a word has greate weight when it seems to come to us from the past an from aged, experienced and learned men.

" Now above all the many people whom I have eve known I have especially revered two, because in thei days they were above all others remarkable for the hig character of their moral lives (*morum gravitate summam*) and for their excellent knowledge of a antiquity. These were, if you do not already know thei names, John Vokes and John Digon. The first was th most worthy abbot, the second the most upright prio of the ancient monastery of St. Augustine. This hous Ethelbert of Kent, when king of the English Heptarchy had founded near Canterbury at the request of his gues Augustine, who had converted the English to the faith in honour of SS. Peter and Paul. The abbot was a hal old man, of the greatest personal sanctity of life (*summ vitæ sanctitate*).

" A third, younger than either of these, and for man reasons respected by me before all other men, wa Nicholas Wotton, who was sprung from an illustriou stock. At that time though a mere youth, he was sti most learned, and he afterwards became a doctor o both laws, whose opinion was much sought after. Aft the expulsion of the monks he became the first Dean o Christchurch, and his culture, prudence, virtue an other high qualities of soul caused him to be sent o many honourable embassies to foreign princes an rulers, and to be accounted one of the royal council i the government of the kingdom.

" These three illustrious men I knew in familiar inte course, and I often heard them discuss every matter

antiquity. I have chosen them in particular to discourse about it in this work, because I know they all worked in this matter in a way worthy of all praise.

"I have consequently assigned the part of replying and summing up to Vokes, both because of his age and the solidity of his learning. Wotton and Digon I have represented as putting the questions. Wotton possessed a knowledge of all things; so much so that it would be hard to say what he was ignorant of. He possessed also an acute judgment, and his powers were of such an order that after being raised to the highest dignity his age was passed in the fulness of his honours. But the fortunes of that honourable old man Vokes were very different. The position he attained to gave him a title to be, as they call it, a peer of the High Parliament, yet after so many abbots who preceded him had held the position, he lived to see himself stripped of the dignity and reduced to the rank of a private individual.

"Here, however, I do nor wish, not is it my design, to weep over the expulsion of the religious or over the destruction of the monasteries. I am satisfied to think that these vast piles, as all these structures certainly were, would not have been allowed to fall into the ruin which ever threatens all earthly things which the sun sees or will see, except by the just judgment of God, for some offences. For since cities, states and empires of the world are overturned in lapse of time and reduced to naught, we must expect like vicissitudes in all things subject to decay. So that contemning these the soul may cleave to Him with whom all things are beautiful and not subject to decay.

"But having said this much, that change must be looked for in respect to all human things present and to come, I will philosophize no further, but will at once take up the thread of my discourse, lest I seem to forget my own design:

"I will at once turn to Abbot Vokes. One summer day

that learned youth, Wotton and John Digon, who wa
indeed a monk, but had not as yet been chosen to office
as he was on the death of the Prior (of St. Augustine's)
came to visit the abbot. He was then at the village o
Sturry, about a mile or a little more from Canterbury
where he was rusticating according to his usual practice
In this very place (by the way), not so long after th
overthrow of the monasteries, the revered old ma
wasted away in misery and neglect. Wotton and Digo
had not so long before left Louvain, and had followe
to England and to Oxford that most learned man
Lodovico Vives, whom I myself knew and reverence
when staying in your college of Corpus Christi, an
whom I heard giving public lectures there.

"When they, and I also at the same time, had com
to visit the old man, and we were all three with hi
there, having thanked us for our coming he raised h
eyes to heaven and said: 'I thank Thee, O Eterna
God! and I congratulate you and myself, O most dea
Wotton, and you also Brother Digon, for that He ha
brought you safe to this country and to this house.
trust that the journey to your native country has bee
prosperous, and I would know what has happened t
you whilst crossing the narrow waters of our Englis
Channel.'"

Wotton (who, it would almost seem, had experience
the unpleasant effects of the crossing) replied that i
his opinion the ancient inhabitants of the land mus
have been somewhat happier in the days when, "a
you Father Abbot have often told us," our island wa
joined to the continent "than now when, to thos
passing to and fro, the wind and sea are apt to sho
themselves unpropitious."

"What you say, my dear Wotton," replied th
Abbot, "is indeed true, but the fact (that our islan
was ever part of the mainland) requires more pro
than the usual assertion." He then goes on to criticis

some length the account given by Geoffry of Mon-
outh, whom he calls "our English Homer and Father
lies." Still, on the request of the three youths who
ere his guests that he "would tell them something
what he had noted on this point in all his long and
ligent researches among the writers of history,"
, saying that he has devoted much time to these
udies "even to his old age," declares that he is
mself convinced that England has not always been
island.

This leads up to a long discussion, in which passages
e freely cited on the question from the ancient writers,
d the monks, John Digon and Doctor Wotton, also
ke their part in the controversy, and are represented
Twyne as fully able to deal with the classical authors
d to cap the abbot's learned quotations by others of
ual value. At length, when Digon had quoted some
rses of a poem by Valerius Flaccus, Abbot Vokes
uld scarcely contain his admiration of them, and
rning to Wotton said, "But what do you think? Do
t these lines please you as much as they do me?"
First of all," replied Wotton, "without impertinence
nay perhaps express my delight that our friend Digon
s not turned his attention only to sacred studies,
ich people chiefly look for in men of his cloth. He
also proficient in profane literature, as is quite
dent to me and also to our friend Twyne, as well as
you, Reverend Father Abbot."

'And upon this," says Twyne, "Digon through
desty trying to waive off this high commendation
his friend Wotton, the abbot intervened saying,
hilst I fully recognise and praise the usual diligence
my brother Digon, let us, by your leave, pass again
our subject.'" Then, when Wotton had quoted many
hors who had noted the encroaching of the sea upon
land, Abbot Vokes smilingly said, "It is useful to
nember also that of the poet, *non omnia possumus*

omnes. For Pliny noted many changes, Seneca befo
him not a few; Strabo also some, and Ovid some. B
before all others, Plato and his disciple, Aristotle, ha
done this, though there is no distinct mention of o
land at all." Later on, the Abbot spoke in high prai
of the work of "that prince of interpreters and gra
marians, Honoratus Servus," and, as he paused, Dig
interjected, "I have his book and look on it, as I oug
to do, as well nigh sacro-sanct." To which, with a smi
the Abbot replied: "Then read it and consider h
words about Britain having been divided from t
continent of Europe."

"Both this passage and that of the poet Claudia
which you Father Abbot have quoted and explained
us," said Wotton, "are always in the hands of t
many, and I know not who has not read them; but
confess that never before this have I see their full for
and I fancy I may say the same for Digon." The
passing on to speak of changes in the configuration
the earth which were known to history, Wotton nam
"this our Kent—not to look for examples elsewhe
Thanet," he reminds them, "was once an islan
though men can now get to it dry-shod and withou
boat," whilst, on the other hand, territory which w
once the property of Earl Godwin, is now but shift
sands covered by the sea; and since," he continu
"I have opportunely named Kent, our beloved cou
and the most delightful spot in all England (as I hop
will not be too dreadful an admission to make, e
for our friend Twyne here, though he was born
Hampshire), tell us something about this, Father Ab
for you do not know how anxious we are to listen
you."

"Then," said he, "I will with pleasure tell you w
I know; for what you ask about is not very m
further back than my memory carries me. For even
my time Thanet, from an island, has been mad

eninsula or Chersonesus. I know eight trustworthy
ien still living, who say that they have seen, not merely
mall skiffs, but big ships laden with merchandise
requently pass and repass between the island and
ur continent." On this and much more to the same
ffect, John Digon quoted some lines of Virgil, which,
e declared, had often come into his mind as he
ooked out and saw the waves breaking on the Godwin
inds.

This led the conversation to the old inhabitants of
ngland, and Abbot Vokes thought that the best
ccount of the Phœnicians was to be found in a note,
ritten on the ninth chapter of the eighth book of St.
ugustine's *De Civitate Dei* by Ludovico Vives. You,
e says, will appreciate this the more because he is to
ou both "not merely a learned and, above all, an
npartial writer, but, of all your teachers, he is the one
ith whom you have been on most familiar terms, and
rtainly the one you have loved best. Here is the
ook," he adds, "and as the passage is long, I will read
to you." Then follows the note in question, and on
ie conclusion of the reading, Wotton declares that not
nly does he remember it perfectly well, but "that he
mself was with Vives when he was writing it, and, as
r as his powers allowed, helped his master in looking
o his authorities." "This," replied the Abbot, "of
ourse we know. He bears witness himself to the help
e received from you, Wotton, and makes very honour-
le mention of it in his notes."*

* A note on the celebrated Ludovico Vives will help the reader appreciate the distinction achieved by Nicholas Wotton in being most familiar with him." Dr. Harald Hoffding in his *History of Modern Philosophy*, vol. i, chap. v, gives a very high appreciation Vives. Born at Valencia in 1492, he died at Bruges in 1540; he d been tutor to Henry VIII's daughter, till the royal divorce ranged him from his master. Vives was an earnest Catholic, t by no means narrow or intolerant. He had original and excel- t ideas on education, which were afterwards adopted by the

The young monk Digon, in passing to speak of th origin of the name Britain, said, " there is, Reveren Father, in our library (at Saint Augustine's Abbey) very old manuscript, without any name of the autho in which I remember to have read a full account of th supposed origin; no doubt you, Father, have often rea it." Before the Abbot could reply, however, Wotto exclaimed " my dear Digon, it is not much use quotin a book the author of which does not appear, and th value of which cannot be known." The Abbot did no altogether approve of such grounds for rejecting th ancient manuscript authority, but he agreed that, i this particular instance, the book, which he knew wel had little weight.

So the conversation went on; sometimes the Abbo taking the lead, sometimes Wotton or the young mon Digon. Authorities, classical and other, are quoted i a way which shows a complete mastery of the particula subject and a wide general reading, which would mak us think that in " those dark days of learning," such morning meeting at the Abbot's country house was pure fiction, were we not assured by the writer Twyn that he had often heard conversations of a similar kin between these same men. In the midst of the conversa tion the Abbot became conscious that while they we talking the time had slipped away so fast, that it w the hour for the midday meal. "I see," he says suddenl " that in our talking we have forgotten ourselves, an

Jesuits, whose founder was said to have been a personal friend Vives. His chief distinction lies in the domain of psychology. H started the modern empirical school of that science; leaving asi speculative questions as to the nature of the soul for a study of phenomena. Descartes owes much to him. For a more detail account of his theories *v. op. cit.*, pp. 36-7.

A long and most interesting sketch of Wotton's career may found in the Dictionary of National Biography. He seems to ha been a typical result of Renaissance culture; a keen mind, an amiab nature, a somewhat too pliant disposition; in other words, an id diplomat.

ur servant reminds us that it is the time appointed to
fresh our bodies. If there is still any point on which
ou wish to satisfy yourselves, do this after food."
" And when he had said this," writes Twyne, " the
verend old man rose from his seat and lovingly
vited us to partake of his meal. We followed him into
e dining chamber."
After the midday meal, which supposition the author
troduces to conclude the first portion of his tract
e rebus Albionicis, before taking up the dialogue
gain, Twyne speaks at some length about the learned
en who had specially turned their attention to the
bject under consideration, or who had assisted others
their general knowledge of ancient literature to
me to sound conclusions on the matter. He names
me at length and refers to another book, in which he
s spoken more fully about the antiquaries he has
mself known: " And," he concludes, " in that book
have made more distinct mention of the cultured
cholas Wotton and of John Digon, as well as of
bot Vokes, of whom the learned Wotton, whenever
had occasion, was wont to speak in high praise,
ting forth his prudence and almost universal know-
lge. Nor did he ever hesitate, when speaking about
n, to declare that he was a man worthy of all honour
d reverence. He was only too willing at any time, he
d, to hear the Abbot talk on any subject, and had
en, as on this occasion, eagerly listened to his in-
uctions on matters of antiquity."
'So it fell out," writes Twyne, " that when dinner was
r, after we had walked awhile to take the air in the
y, seeing it was not yet late and the sun was still off
setting, Wotton declared that he was anxious to
r more on the matter of their previous conversation,
uesting the Abbot to take up the discussion where it
been broken off and to carry it to its proper ending.
at is,' he added, ' if it be not too irksome to you,

Reverend Father Abbot, or if more important occupa
tions do not claim your time; you do not need to b
told how very willingly we always listen to you whe
discussing any question. And certainly,' he continued
looking at Digon and me, ' I am sure we all desire tha
you will go on with what you were saying and tell u
what you know about the first inhabitants of Albion
from which instruction this not unpleasant digressio
of dinner called you.' "

Then the conversation began once more, Wotton an
Digon taking their part in it, and showing their a
quaintance with the writings of ancient authors, classic
and Christian. Abbot Vokes, however, in this secon
part of the tract, is represented as holding the positio
of instructor, and to his opinion the two younger me
are constantly described as appealing, as to one whos
well-recognized learning gave him a right to speak o
all these matters.

Wotton, in the first place, expressed a wish to get r
of the fabulous. He thought they had had enough
giants and Cyclopean heroes—beings that might h
proper sport for poets and story-tellers, or calculated
interest women and children, but which ought not
be considered in serious discussions. He asked, howeve
for some information as to the remains of human bein
which had been dug up in various parts of the countr
and which were " shown in private collections
exhibited in public places," and which were considere
proof that at one time or other the land had be
peopled by giants. He named in particular certa
excavations which had been made in the time of t
then King Henry VIII, at the expense of Sir Christoph
Hales, when certain mounds or barrows had been fou
to contain the bones of men of great size and fragmen
of bronze and iron weapons. " Can you tell me abo
these?" he said, for " I know well enough, Father Abb
that this cannot have escaped your notice since you a

ver so anxious to examine into antiquity." To many eople, he added, this discovery appears to strengthen ıe popular opinion that England was at one time eopled by a race of giants.

"Not so, learned Wotton," replied the Abbot, "it oes nothing of the kind; although even when you ılk about the graves of giants, you seem to confirm ıe common view. The exploration of the tomb you efer to did not escape me, and I myself saw and examined the very ancient objects then discovered; but," e added, "we had better confine ourselves now to what 'e know of the first inhabitants from the ancient 'riters who have spoken about our island." Upon this ıe Abbot made a long quotation from Tacitus in regard) the matter, and when he had finished, John Digon ook up the matter by another quotation, which he refaced by saying: "You will remember, Father bbot, no doubt, how the following bears out the ords of Tacitus," and concluded by remarking, "all ıis agrees with what you, Reverend Father, have said. t is taken from a copy of Ludovico Vives' relation bout the Phœnicians in Spain."

It would be tedious to most of my readers to follow ut in detail the somewhat lengthy conversation which represented as having taken place in the Abbot's room n this afternoon. Suffice it to say that the speakers eem to have been familiar with every author and ready) cap each other's quotations by others not less apt, s if they had already possessed the collection of xtracts in the *Monumenta Britannica*. It is indeed trange to find monks like Abbot Vokes and John)igon credited with the possession of so much learning nd such culture by one who has a great reputation himelf as an antiquary, and to have his declaration that, to is personal knowledge, they really were the learned and erious students he here represents them. Out of the ntire discussion I propose only to transcribe one short

passage, which refers to Canterbury and to the disastrous fire which destroyed so many valuable manuscripts at Christchurch, on the eve of its dissolution as a monastery. "Hardly any city in the kingdom, says the Abbot, "equals this Canterbury of ours in its antiquity or its dignity; few can be thought to compare with it. For a long time it flourished as the royal city of the strong Kings of Kent; also it was the place of the chair of the Archbishop, and was honoured as the resting place of both, and for its fidelity to religion and the number of its religious houses. It often suffered dire afflictions: it was besieged by the Danes and laid in ruins; it was consumed or greatly diminished by fires, the rage of enemies or the chance of accidents. But in my opinion no misfortune was so grievous as that fire which a few years ago broke out in Christchurch monastery; and which, besides other buildings, destroyed the library. That celebrated library was founded by Theodore the Archbishop, was enriched by many benefactors, and was completed in time by Henry Chicheley, Theodore's successor in the Archiepiscopal chair. In that fire among many thousands of books alas! one copy of that precious book of Cicero, *De republicâ* (Theodore's) perished in the flames. Another copy I have heard exists in Rome; but in my short stay there I did not see it, and I have not as yet received a printed copy, which together with prints of the works of Cæsar and other books, have been promised me by Cardinal Evrard de la Marck,* the friend of our friend Ludovico Vives."

In concluding these brief notes upon this very rare volume on the antiquities of England, I would refer again to what I said at the beginning as to the light it

* Cardinal de la Marck was made Bishop of Liége in 1505, and held the See till his death in 1538. Pope Leo X made him Cardinal in 1520, and at the request of the Emperor Charles V, Clement VII made him Legate in the Low Countries.

ncidentally throws upon the character of Abbot Vokes. t is well known that, on the authority of the dis-redited Bale, upon the last Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, there has hitherto been supposed to rest he dark shadow of nameless crime. Abbot John Essex, s he is usually called, together with some of his monks, vere named by the visitors of the monastic houses at he time of their dissolution as being men of infamous haracter; and they have been held up in history to xecration as affording types of the immoralities which ecessitated the destruction of the religious houses. It s impossible to read the praises bestowed upon this bbot by the antiquary Twyne, and to note the words ut into the mouth of Nicholas Wotton, the first secular Dean of Christchurch, without coming to the conclusion hat the memory of this last Abbot of St. Augustine's as been most grievously wronged. Wotton and Twyne oth were intimately acquainted with him, and, living ng after he had passed away from the life of poverty o which the destruction of his beloved monastery had ondemned him, they must no doubt have heard some-hing of the scandals by which the destroyers sought to esmirch his good name, and thus in some measure efend their spoliation. It is hardly too much to uppose even that his friend Twyne sought in this little olume to give his son, and through him posterity, a nowledge of the truth. Instead of the Abbot being a an given up to odious vice, we are asked to believe im to have been the most cultured, cultivated, and ourteous of gentlemen: one who, as Nicholas Wotton eclares, was worthy of all reverence and respect. We ee him as the friend of learning of every kind; and eady to encourage it in others, as in the case of the onk John Digon, who had been sent over the sea to tudy under the great Ludovico Vives. We see him in hese pages as the antiquary, to whose well-stored mind hen were only too willing to appeal for information;

who could understand what a loss to scholarship had been the destruction of the Canterbury library, and who, at the very eve of the destruction of his house, was in communication with learned men in Rome to procure, for his library at St. Augustine's, some of the early prints of the classics. It is a mere chance that this volume has survived to counteract the impression made by the vague but deadly charges brought against the good name of this abbot. Twyne evidently did more than this; for he mentions another book in which he had written more at length about the character and learning of Abbot Vokes and the monk Digon; but this volume, alas! does not appear to have come down to us. Still, I fancy that to most unbiassed minds the tract *De rebus Albionicis* will be sufficient to reverse the verdict of past generations, and to dispel the ugly cloud of calumny which has so long hung over the ruins of St. Augustine's.

ROGER BACON AND THE LATIN VULGATE*

THE work of Roger Bacon in regard to the Vulgate is well known. His opinions as to the state of the ext in the ordinary Bibles of the thirteenth century, nd his suggestions as to the principles which should egulate any revision have been frequently set forth by hose interested in the history of the Latin Vulgate, vhilst many modern writers, amongst whom I may name I. S. Berger,† the Abbé Martin,‡ the Franciscan Father heophilus Witzel,§ and others, have written specially pon this subject. Little therefore remains to be done ut to follow in their footsteps.

From one point of view the whole of Roger Bacon's ncyclopaedic works may be regarded as leading up to he revision of the Latin Bible, which he considered so nportant. The necessary scientific correction of the ext was the main reason impelling him to demand a nore accurate study of languages and more correct nowledge of science. Throughout all his various reatises, or parts of his great work, Bacon constantly eturns to the same central idea, namely, that the theo- ogians of his day, and in particular the teachers in the

* A paper contributed to the *Roger Bacon Commemoration Essays.*

† Samuel Berger, *De l'histoire de la Vulgate en France*, Paris, 887.

‡ J. P. P. Martin, *La Vulgate latine au XIIIe siècle d'après Roger Bacon*, Paris, 1888.

§ Theophilus Witzel, O.F.M., "De Fr. Rogero Bacon eiusque ententia de rebus biblicis," in *Arch. Franc. Hist.*, iii, 3-22, 185-213.

great University of Paris, had neglected to ground themselves sufficiently in matters of language and science, to the great detriment of their special studies.

It is clear that the Franciscan had expressed these views as to the decadence of theological studies to Pope Clement IV, before the elevation of the latter to the Papacy, and as a consequence that Pope in the second year of his pontificate communicated to the friar his desire that he should write fully his criticism of the state of ecclesiastical studies at the time, and make whatever suggestions he thought useful to remedy the evils he perceived. In 1267, therefore, Bacon replied with his *Opus Minus*, in which the tract *The Seven Capital Sins of Theology* sets forth clearly the points wherein he considers the training then given to ecclesiastics was at fault.

The fourth of these "Capital Sins" Bacon declares to be the practical abandonment of the scientific study of the sacred Scriptures in favour of the *Book of the Sentences* of Peter the Lombard, upon which in the University of Paris all theological training was then based. He writes: "When any one has read that [*i.e.*, the *Book of the Sentences*] he thinks himself a Master in Theology, though he has not studied (*non audiat*) a thirtieth part of his Text [*i.e.*, the Sacred Scriptures]."* That by the word "Text" Bacon means the Bible is made clear by what follows, for in the context he complains that whereas other faculties use the text proper to their studies as the basis of the teaching in the schools, theology leaves its text practically on one side.

In the forefront of his work, written by direction of the Pope and presented to him, Roger Bacon pleaded for "a more thorough and scientific teaching of the Holy Scripture." In his opinion there was an imperative need for a change in this matter in the schools of the Paris University. Some readers of his words may

* *Opus Minus*, ed. Brewer, p. 328.

erhaps be inclined to regard his expressions as not ıstified in fact, but the whole passage is worth quoting ; giving the best available evidence. "At Paris and sewhere," he says, "the Bachelor, who takes the adings of the Text [*i.e.*, the Bible], gives place to the cturer on the *Sentences*. The latter is always honoured ıd preferred before the former. He who gives lectures ı the *Sentences* takes the best hour according to his easure; he has also a socius (or assistant) and his own om, if he is a friar. But the one who reads the Bible as not these advantages. He has to beg for whatever our the lecturer on the *Sentences* may be pleased to ve him, etc. Am I not right, therefore, in saying," acon concludes, "that the Text of the faculty of eology gives place to the *Sentences*?"*

But even this evil, which he deplores, the learned ranciscan did not regard as so serious as the state of ıe sacred text itself in what he calls the received Bible, sed in the University of Paris. In this, he says, "the xt is for the most part horribly corrupt,† and it is so ncertain that great doubt must arise as to the true ading. As a consequence, those who wish to correct ıe text dispute with each other as to the real meaning. here are, in fact, almost as many 'correctors' as aders, and they really should more truly be called corruptors' than 'correctors,' since every one of them resumes to change what he does not understand, hich would not be permitted in the case of the works the poets."‡

This unjustifiable treatment of the sacred text, we e told, is made without knowledge or discretion, and this regard Bacon cites with approval the dictum of . Augustine (*Cont. Faust.*, xxxii, 16), that "when atin codices disagree, recourse must be had to many ıd those the oldest MSS., since ancient texts are to be referred to modern, and numbers to a few." In stating

* *Op. Minus*, pp. 328-9. † *Ibid.*, p. 330. ‡ *Ibid.*

this principle of criticism, Bacon declares that there i ample evidence to show that in numberless passage the Paris Bible of his day has incorporated reading quite opposed to those to be found in the oldest authenti manuscripts. In these ancient codices, he says, ma be seen the readings held as authentic by the Roma Church; that is, he adds, "the translation of S Jerome, as St. Isidore declares in his book *De Offici* (i, 12)."

If, he continues, after recourse has been had to th ancient manuscripts there still remains a doubt as t the proper rendering of a passage in the sacred tex according to the teaching of St. Augustine, St. Jerom and indeed of "all the doctors" of the Church, "re course must be had to the language from which th Latin text has been translated" to determine whethe it has rendered the meaning of the original exactl or no. As an example in point Bacon takes the word of Mark, viii, 38, which in the Latin run: "qui m *confessus* fuerit . . . *confitebitur*," etc., which should b "*confusus* fuerit . . . *confundetur*" according to th Greek manuscripts, which have a Greek word meanin "being ashamed of."

That this is the true reading, Bacon confirms by a instructive use of the Eusebian Canons. In the secon of these Canons are noted the passages in which thre of the Evangelists agree. Amongst these the passag in Mark, viii, 38 is seen to agree with parallel passages i Matthew and Luke. In the former the words used are "who shall *deny* me," and in the latter, "who shall *b ashamed* of me"; thus confirming the opinion that th word used in the Latin version of Mark should b *confusus* and not *confessus*.

Roger Bacon does not apparently consider th defective nature of the Bible made use of in the school of Paris as so very extraordinary. For forty years, h says, many theologians and Paris booksellers have bee

copying and selling the corrupt text. A great number of careless scribes have added to the confusion by making changes of words, etc., according to their own judgement. Theologians have no means of examining the text critically, and so rely upon it as correct. Later, when perhaps they became conscious that there was something wrong or unsatisfactory, they wished to change what they imagined to be wrongly translated. But " because they had not the ability, each one made what corrections he pleased." " This," our author says, " is still being done," and as each one has his own opinion as to what corrections should be made, the result is to introduce " an almost endless diversity of readings."* The result is uncertainty, and the case is really similar to that described by St. Jerome writing to Pope Damasus: " Where there is diversity the truth cannot be known."

The origin of the difficulty resulting in the defective Paris text was, in Roger Bacon's opinion, simply this: that those who did not hesitate to correct, made no attempt to seek for the readings to be found in the most ancient Latin texts, and were ignorant of the Greek and Hebrew languages from which the Latin version was derived. Even, he says, a good grammar would help them and save them from trying to change " the old grammar which St. Jerome, who translated into Latin, knew so well, since he was a pupil of the great Donatus and the greater Priscian." Contrary to what theologians have said, the text of the Latin Church is not a mixed one. It was translated by St. Jerome from the Hebrew, except the Psalms, which are from the Septuagint. The Psalter, indeed, remained in the translation from the Greek because the Church was accustomed to its use and would not accept the version made by St. Jerome from the Hebrew, which was the only one he himself thought to be correct.

* *Op. Min.*, p. 333.

In this same part of his *Opus Minus* Roger Bacon gives a full account of the translations that had been made of the Holy Scripture before the time of St. Jerome. In this he manifests an extent of knowledge surprising in the thirteenth century, and which, indeed, could hardly be surpassed in these days. His conclusion is that the translation of St. Jerome was excellent in every way, and that it is the only one recognized by the Latin Church, and a return to which must be the end of all revision.

He calls the Pope's attention to the fact that the Septuagint Greek is not wholly trustworthy, as that text too has been corrupted by scribes and others. This St. Jerome had noted in his day, as for example in Ezekiel, xlii, 2, where the word *cubitorum* has found its way into the text, where the Greek has nothing, and where St. Bede notes that the word should be *calamorum*. Before leaving this matter, he again insists that the ancient Bibles are the only true tests of correctness, and he warns students against paying too much attention to the passages of Holy Scripture used in the Divine Office and other liturgical services, since changes have been made for the sake of greater clearness and for aids to devotion.*

The need for possessing some knowledge of Greek in order to make corrections safely is also well illustrated by Roger Bacon. He takes the words of Matthew, xii 31, *spiritus blasphemiae*, where the word *spiritus*—usually understood as meaning the Holy Spirit—is shown by the Greek to be in the genitive case depending on *blasphemia*.†

In the *Opus Majus* Bacon again insists upon the necessity of examining the oldest Latin manuscripts

* *Op. Min.*, p. 347.

† A great many manuscripts have this mistake, as may be seen in the list of authorities for this reading in Wordsworth and White's great work on the New Testament.

xisting in monasteries and not yet glossed or re-
ıched," which afford the true version made by the
thority of the Roman Church. "According to the
timony of these old Bibles the Paris edition should
corrected."* Seeing the real danger to religion by
e circulation of a text of the Bible into which many
ors had crept, the learned Franciscan, in this as in
ny other matters far in advance of his age, begs the
pe to take seriously into consideration the question
a thorough revision. Three centuries before the
uncil of Trent Bacon wrote to Clement IV: "I cry
you against this corruption of the Text, for you alone
ı remedy the evil."

The Franciscan was also seriously concerned at the
vate attempts being made in the thirteenth century
correct the sacred text. He considered that the only
ult of the work of these correctors will be to make
ıfusion worse confounded.

'Every teacher," he says, "in the Order of Minorites
rects as he pleases; and the same is the case among
Friars Preachers and Seculars. Each one changes
at he does not understand. The Preachers have
efly occupied themselves with this kind of correction.
enty years ago and more they presumed to make a
rectorium and set it forth in writing. But later they
de another to supersede it: now they hesitate (as
the corrections) more than others do, not knowing
ere they are. In this way their corrections are the
st kind of corruption and the destruction of God's
t. It is a much less evil and indeed without any
ıparison to make use of the uncorrected Paris Bible
n to accept their corrections, or those of any others."†
Bacon's opinion was expressed strongly against the
stitution of words and phrases for the original text,
matter how much better and clearer they might

* *Opus Maj.*, ed. Bridges, iii, 95.
† *Op. Tertium*, ed. Brewer, p. 93.

appear to those who used them. In several places his works he complains of this tendency of the correcto of his age. They never do this "when they read t poets" is his argument more than once repeated, b in the case of Holy Scripture "every *lector* makes wha ever changes he pleases."*

He complains also of the absence of unity and meth in making corrections, which was manifest in all t attempts made in his time. The correctors were n agreed as to what text they had to restore. Theologia as a body seemed even to think that the text used the Latin Church was not St. Jerome's translation all, but a mixed version compiled from many differe sources. For this reason with great liberty they intr duce whatever words they desire to use. "But it certain that the Latin Church uses St. Jerome's tra lation, except in the Psalter, the translation of which taken from the Septuagint."† In principle, therefo Bacon determines that every revision or correction mu have for its scope the restoration of St. Jerome's tex whereas the thirteenth-century correctors make use other translations and even take their text fr commentators, from the ecclesiastical liturgy, and ev from the works of Josephus.‡

For these reasons Roger Bacon begs the Pope to u his supreme authority and prohibit these priva attempts at correcting the sacred text, and to comm this difficult and laborious task to men who possess adequate learning and who were skilled in the langua necessary for attempting the important work. The t things the learned Franciscan chiefly condemns a first, the Paris text; and, secondly, the attempts correction which had been made, chiefly by the Fra ciscans and Dominicans, in the first half of the thirteen century, some forty years or so before he hims

* *Op. Min.*, ed. Brewer, p. 330. † *Ibid.*, p. 334.
‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 347, 348.

enounced these attempts to the Pope and implored im to put a stop to them.

His condemnation of the majority of the correctors s based on several important considerations, amongst hich are the following: they have no adequate know-dge of the ancient Bibles; their knowledge of Hebrew nd Greek from which the Latin is derived is insufficient; ney are unacquainted with the best Latin grammarians, nd in particular with the works of Donatus and riscian, the masters of St. Jerome; and they were not *u courant* with the various versions which were in xistence in the Latin Church, nor had they studied eir origin and history.

By the expression "ancient Bibles" Bacon meant ose which had come down from the age of St. Gregory e Great, St. Isidore of Seville, and Alcuin, "and umberless other Bibles," he writes, "scattered in arious countries, contemporary with St. Isidore or efore his time, which are free from alterations. They re the same in all things, except for the faults of copy-ts, from which no writing is free." *

The account of the origin of the Vulgate text given y the learned Franciscan is of great interest as showing ot only the extent of his knowledge on this particular art of his subject, but his entire familiarity with the orks of the Fathers of the Church and of St. Jerome in rticular.

"St. Jerome," he says, "found the [Latin] transla-on of the Septuagint disfigured not only by the errors the scribes, but by having from the first many faults omission of necessary things and addition of things perfluous. He [St. Jerome] perceived that truth was this detained as a captive, and for this reason he solved to give the Latin Church a version made from e Hebrew. He translated the Hebrew as well as he uld and as exactly as he dared, for he had no wish to

* *Op. Min.*, p. 335.

frighten his readers by too great novelties. Denounced, as he was, as a falsifier and corruptor of the Scriptures, he did not dare to translate everything exactly as he wished, as may be seen in what he has written. Thus, through human frailty or the rapidity with which he worked he dictated or wrote things sometimes inexactly, as he himself confesses in his letter to Magnus and in his commentaries on Isaias, where he desires to correct what he had translated badly." *

Later in the same part of his work Bacon adds to this account the following:

"Knowing that his [St. Jerome's] first translation [from the Hebrew] was not sufficiently exact, wishing to set forth the truth and to satisfy the desires of students, he resolved to leave another translation in private writings. This he could do, so as not to scandalize the faithful, since this second edition has never been used by the people or by the Church. At all times indeed, very few have used the original writings of St. Jerome on the Bible. For instance, Rabanus (Maurus) and Cassiodorus, two most learned men, have declared that they could not find all his works. Rabanus says this expressly in his commentary on Jeremias." †

To enforce his conclusion that the only version adopted by the Latin Church is that which St. Jerome made under the authority of Pope St. Damasus, Roger Bacon adds this reflection:

"So great a work could not have been accomplished either by the doctors of Paris or by any other person without the authority of the Holy See. It could not have been and ought not to have been done without this authorization: it would have been improper. Can it be said now that this work has been concluded with this authorization either by the Paris doctors or by others or by some sovereign Pontiff? But there is no document no Register of any Pope, no chronicle or history which

† *Op. Min.*, p. 336. * *Ibid.*, p. 344.

says this. We expect this in matters of small moment: and therefore with greater reason must look for it in so grave a business, which serves for the foundation of all ecclesiastical discipline." *

It is unnecessary to examine more fully the connexion of the great Franciscan doctor, Roger Bacon, with the revision of the Vulgate. He shows in his works that he fully and entirely realizes the importance of the critical examination he advocates, and he lays down the true principles on which any critical correction must proceed. His proposal to Pope Clement IV was to appoint a commission of capable men with the avowed object of restoring the text of St. Jerome. The methods he suggests are the scientific methods employed to-day in the production of a critical text. The oldest manuscripts were to be sought for, examined, weighed, and compared, and the evidence of the best and oldest codices for any reading was to be taken as against the less worthy and the more modern. Finally, the readings, even when they were almost certainly those of St. Jerome, were to be controlled by the original Greek or Hebrew, from which this version of St. Jerome has been translated.

What must strike any reader of Roger Bacon's works in regard to the Holy Scripture is the grasp the learned doctor had in the thirteenth century of the whole subject of Biblical revision, and how true and clear were the critical principles he laid down so many centuries ago.

* *Op. Min.*, p. 342.

ADRIAN IV AND IRELAND*

FOR more than two centuries England justified its claim to rule Ireland on the authority of a well-known "Bull" of Pope Adrian IV. By this instrument the first and only Englishman who sat in the chair of St. Peter, Nicholas Breakspeare, who took the title of Adrian IV, gave the sovereignty of the island to our English king, Henry II; and, although at the present day, and indeed since the close of the fifteenth century, this grant has nothing to do with the relations existing between the two countries, still the question of the genuineness of the "Bull" possesses an historical interest for the people of both nations.

From time to time the "fact" that an English Pope made a donation of Ireland to his own countrymen is used by non-Catholic Irish Nationalist writers for the purpose of trying to undermine the inborn and undying love and devotion of the Irish people for the sovereign Pontiffs. These attacks were met by the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in the article in which Dr. Moran, the learned Bishop of Ossory, adduced many powerful, if not conclusive, reasons for rejecting the "Bull" as spurious. English historians have universally taken the genuineness of the document for granted; and Dr. Lingard, for example, thus describes the origin and purpose of Pope Adrian's grant:†

"The proximity of Ireland to England, and the

* Printed in the *Dublin Review*, July 1883.

† *Hist.*, vol. ii, p. 177, 5th ed.

ıferiority of the natives in the art of war, had suggested ıe idea of conquest to both William the Conqueror ıd the first Henry. . . . Within a few months of his Henry II's] coronation, John of Salisbury, a learned ıonk, and afterwards Bishop of Chartres, was despatched) solicit the approbation of Pope Adrian. The envoy as charged to assure His Holiness that Henry's rincipal object was to provide instruction for an norant people, to extirpate vice from the Lord's ineyard, and to extend to Ireland the annual payment Peter Pence; but that, as every Christian island was ıe property of the Holy See, he did not presume to ıake the attempt without the advice and consent of ıe successor of S. Peter. The Pontiff, who must have niled at the hypocrisy of this address, praised, in his ply, the piety of his dutiful son; accepted the asserted ght of sovereignty which had been so liberally admitted, xpressed the satisfaction with which he assented to the ing's request, and exhorted him to bear in mind the onditions on which the assent had been grounded."

Irish historians also appear generally to have taken ıe same view as Dr. Lingard expressed in the foregoing assage, and to have had little suspicion about the ıthenticity of the "Bull." On the contrary, the *tudent's Manual of Irish History*, published in 1870 y Miss Cusack, declares that "there can be no doubt hatever of the authenticity of this Bull," and this ould seem to be the general verdict of Irish authorities ntil comparatively recent times.*

The Abbé MacGeoghegan, it is true, in his *History Ireland*,† appears somewhat inclined to discredit ıe document, though at the same time he takes special ains to defend the Irish clergy and people against the

* See also speeches in Ireland and elsewhere, on the Pope's cent *Circular to the Irish Bishops*, and Mr. Justin H. McCarthy's cently published *Outline of Irish History*, where the authentic aracter of the Grant is assumed.

† Duffy, 1844.

censures implied by it. It was only in the year 18 that the first indictment of the evidence upon whi the "Bull" had been accepted as genuine, was draw up by Dr. Moran, and published in the pages of th *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. To the arguments again the "grant" stated in that article, the editor of th *Analecta Juris Pontificii* has added fresh and almo conclusive evidence of the forgery of what has been long left unquestioned and accepted as genuine h historians.

The following account is given by the author of th researches in the *Analecta* of the reasons which dete mined him to undertake the study of the question:

"Many years ago, an Irishman living at Montreal, Canada, wrote to me for the purpose of calling m attention to the subject of Adrian IV and his pretende donation of Ireland to the English. He begged me t treat this important question for the honour of th Holy See, and to clear the name of Pope Adrian, upo whom this grave accusation had rested for so man centuries. At the time I was travelling, but happenin to stop some time in a city rich in libraries, I commence my researches, and conducted them to some lengt When obliged to continue my journey, I entrusted m papers to the librarian; and on my return, after a absence of two years and half, I learnt, to my grea regret, that the librarian had died, and that all my note had disappeared. I was, consequently, obliged to begi again; but I have been fully compensated for th mischance by an unhoped-for discovery, that of th true letter of Adrian."

The circumstances under which Henry II is said t have asked and obtained this famous "Bull" are we known. He was anxious in his restless spirit to hav occupation for his arms. The slave trade against whic the Conqueror and Bishop St. Wulstan had striven, an which they had for a time succeeded in suppressing a

Bristol, was again carried on during the disturbed times of Rufus and his brother, the first Henry, and was allowed to grow unchecked during the civil dissensions of Stephen's reign. Thus it came to pass that Ireland, on the accession of Henry II, was full of Englishmen who had been kidnapped and sold into slavery. This would have furnished a pretext sufficient for war, had a pretext been needed by the ambitious mind of the English king; and shortly after his accession to the throne John of Salisbury was, according to his own account, despatched to Rome to obtain the Papal sanction and blessing for the proposed expedition to Ireland. Adrian IV was then Pope, and from him was obtained, as is supposed, the famous grant, by means of which Henry and his immediate successors were created sovereign princes over the island. Those among Irish historians who have accepted John of Salisbury's account of the donation have considered that Adrian was purposely deceived as to the state of the country and the necessity of the English interference by the king's envoy, and have regarded the "Bull" as a document granted in error as to the real circumstances of the case. Dr. Lingard takes a view less creditable to the reputation of the Pope, when he represents him as smiling "at the hypocrisy of the address" made by John of Salisbury, while still acceding to the request he proffered in behalf of his royal master. It can be now shown, almost conclusively, that though a request of the nature described by Salisbury was indeed made about this time to the Pope, he was not the envoy sent to make it, and the answer was very different to that of the supposed "Bull," which we now give in the words of Dr. Moran's translation.

Adrian Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our most dear Son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English, greeting and Apostolic Benediction.

The thoughts of your Highness are laudably and profitably

directed to the greater glory of your name on earth, and to the increase of the reward of eternal happiness in heaven, when as a Catholic Prince you propose to yourself to extend the borders of the Church, to announce the truths of Christian faith to ignorant and barbarous nations, and to root out the weeds of wickedness from the field of the Lord; and the more effectually to accomplish this, you implore the counsel and favour of the Apostolic See. In which matter we feel assured that the higher your aims are, and the more discreet your proceedings, the happier, with God's aid, will be the result; because those undertakings that proceed from the ardour of faith and the love of religion are sure always to have a prosperous end and issue.

It is beyond all doubt, as your Highness also doth acknowledge, that Ireland, and all the islands upon which Christ the Son of Justice has shone, and which have received the knowledge of the Christian faith, are subject to the authority of S. Peter and of the most holy Roman Church. Wherefore we are the more desirous to sow in them an acceptable seed and a plantation pleasing unto God, because we know that a most rigorous account of them shall be required of us hereafter.

Now, most dear Son in Christ, you have signified to us you propose to enter the island of Ireland to establish the observance of law among its people, and to eradicate the weeds of vice and that you are willing to pay from every house one penny as tribute to S. Peter, and to preserve the rights of the churches of that land whole and inviolate. We, therefore, receiving with due favour your pious and laudable desires, and graciously granting our consent to your petition, declare that it is pleasing and acceptable to us, that for the purpose of enlarging the limits of the Church, setting bounds to the torrent of vice, reforming evil manners, planting the seeds of virtue, and increasing Christian faith, you should enter that island and carry into effect those things which belong to the service of God, and to the salvation of that people; and that the people of that land should honourably receive and reverence you as Lord; the rights of the churches being preserved untouched and entire and reserving the annual tribute of one penny from every house to S. Peter and the most holy Roman Church.

If, therefore, you resolve to carry these designs into execution let it be your study to form that people to good morals; and take such orders both by yourself and by those whom you shall find qualified in faith, in words, and in good conduct, that the

urch there may be adorned, and the practices of Christian th be planted and increased, and let all that tends to the ory of God and the salvation of souls be so ordered by you at you may deserve to obtain from God an increase of erlasting reward, and may secure on earth a glorious name roughout all time.
Given at Rome, etc.

This document is not dated, but John of Salisbury, no claims to have been the ambassador who obtained for Henry II, gives the year 1155 as the date when was granted. There are, however, grave, if not overhelming, reasons for questioning the value of this stimony, since the biography of Salisbury makes exceedingly improbable that he was ever entrusted th such a mission to Rome. Educated out of England, hich he left in 1137, John of Salisbury did not return his native country till 1149, and then only for a very ort time, as he can be proved to have returned almost mediately to the Continent, where he became occued in teaching at Paris. It is hard to believe that enry would have made choice of an unknown and tried man to conduct so important and difficult a ece of diplomacy as negotiating with the Pope about e expedition to Ireland. This much is certain, indeed, at Henry did, at the beginning of his reign, send mbassadors to Adrian, who was then almost at the ose of his pontificate; but this mission was given to ree bishops and an abbot—namely, Rotrodus,* shop of Evreux, of whom we shall have more to say; nold, Bishop of Lisieux; the Bishop of Mans; and obert, Abbot of St. Albans. John of Salisbury, if he re with this embassy, could not have played the portant part he claims to have done, but would have ne only in the capacity of a simple clerical retainer. is a curious fact that the date of this mission to the pe from Henry is the same as that claimed by

* *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii, pp. 557 and 776.

Salisbury for his visit, A.D. 1155; and it is most unlike that the English king would have sent two differe embassies at the same time. The old chronicles gi as the object of the visit of these prelates to Rome this time the wish of Henry to obtain from Adri absolution from an oath made by him to his fatl Geoffrey. Apparently other English business w treated of at the same time, as we judge from a let bearing the date of 27th February 1155, written Adrian to the Scotch bishops. Nothing whatever appea as to the proposed expedition to Ireland.

Other circumstances also tend to throw discredit up the account given by John of Salisbury. When finished his work called *Polycraticus*, he dedicated to Thomas, afterwards St. Thomas à Becket, th Chancellor of England, who at that time was with royal master at the siege of Toulouse. This was in t year A.D. 1159; and in that year, apparently for t first time, Salisbury was presented to Henry by Thomas. If, as we may suppose from this fact, he h been up to this time unknown to the king, it is mo improbable that four years previously the same monar had entrusted him with so private and confidential mission to Rome.

Moreover, although Salisbury speaks in the *Po craticus* of his having passed three months at Ben ventum with Pope Adrian—a fact rendered itself mo unlikely by reason of the details he gives of the extr ordinary familiarity with which the Pope treated him he makes no mention whatever in that work of t important grant of Ireland accorded to his petitio Such an omission is all the more curious because t work in question was intended by its author as a mea of securing the favour and patronage of the Chancello and had Salisbury been the means of obtaining England so signal a favour, this mere fact would ha been a certain pass to the countenance and protectio

t alone of St. Thomas, but of King Henry himself-
is omission is sufficient to make us suspect either that
e chapter in Salisbury's subsequent work, the *Meta-
icus*, in which mention is made of Adrian's grant, is
t his work at all; or that the grant was inserted by
n at the instance of the king, and to gain his favour.
It is fair to say that some consider it probable that
hn of Salisbury was known in England before he
came secretary to St. Thomas as Chancellor in 1159.
is thought also that he was secretary to Archbishop
eobald, the predecessor to St. Thomas in the See of
nterbury; but this belief is founded upon the fact
at there are in Salisbury's works many letters written
Archbishop T. to Pope A., which may equally stand
Archbishop Thomas and Pope Alexander as for
chbishop Theobald and Pope Adrian. It is true that
e last chapter of the *Metalogicus* declares that he was
e secretary of Theobald, as well as mentioning the
Bull" of Adrian; but grave suspicions are enter-
ned as to the honesty or genuineness of this part of
isbury's work. As this concluding chapter in the
talogicus is rightly considered the most important
dence upon which the authenticity of the "Bull"
ts, it will be necessary to consider it at some length.
has been sometimes supposed that Salisbury wrote
chapter containing the important declaration of
pe Adrian's grant in order to favour the designs
Henry on Ireland; and that the price of this
eit was the Bishopric of Chartres bestowed upon
n by the king. There is very little doubt that the
racter of John of Salisbury is not altogether such as
place him beyond suspicion. Some of his letters show
t he could play a double part, and was in reality not
straightforward friend of his master St. Thomas that
pretended to be.* We are, however, inclined to

* John Bale, a Protestant, in a biographical notice attached to
dition of the *Metalogicus*, Leyden, 1639, says: "Archiepiscopo

think that the editor of the *Analecta* is right in exone ating Salisbury from the charge of fraud, and in sup posing that the last chapter of the *Metalogicus* was a interpolation at some subsequent period.

It is undeniable that the forty-second chapter of th work has absolutely nothing to do with the rest, whic had for its object the defence of the study of logic an metaphysics. The forty-first chapter finishes th subject in a natural and Christian manner by a quot tion from the Book of Wisdom, and it is a stran contrast in the next chapter (forty-second) to com upon a lament over the siege of Toulouse and the evi likely to arise out of the quarrel of the two kings, odd mixed up with records of a most unlikely familiarit existing between himself (Salisbury) and Pope Adria The Pontiff is represented as insisting on eating off th same plate with him and drinking from the same cu while he is supposed to have declared publicly that h loved Salisbury more than his own mother and brothe These curious details are immediately followed by th declaration of Adrian's gift of Ireland, to which is adde a repetition of what he had said in the prologue abo his occupation as chancellor and secretary to the Arc bishop of Canterbury. The whole chapter is thus s strange in itself, so different in style to the oth writings of John of Salisbury, and so oddly tacked o to a work on philosophy, that it is highly probable was not his work at all. This probability is increase by the fact that the circumstances of the interview wit Pope Adrian described in the *Metalogicus* differ so muc from those in the *Polycraticus*, where no mention made of Adrian's donation; nor of the "fine emera ring" sent from the Pope to Henry to convey son strange sort of investiture. Moreover, the hand of th

Thomæ quandoque familiarius fuit et in exilio comes: *sed n propterea omisit suas objicere pervicaces in regem benigni dementias.*"

mpostor is betrayed by one or two expressions such as ' usque in hodiernum diem " and " jure hæreditario ossidendam." Finally, if the last chapter of the *Meta-ogicus* is genuine, it was written about the year 1159, ince the illness of Archbishop Theobald, who died in 161, is mentioned. At latest the date of the work is 160; while it is a matter beyond dispute that no men-ion whatever was made by Henry of this " grant " of reland by the Pope till at earliest A.D. 1175,* or fifteen ears after it was published in the *Metalogicus*. This is nexplicable, except on the ground that the chapter is subsequent interpolation in order to give colour to Ienry's claims on Ireland. We must here note that the ossession of such a " Bull " would have been most seful to Henry in 1167, when his followers first joined)earmaid, in order to justify English interference; it as of vital importance when he went over to receive he homage of the Irish, and could never have been ithheld or concealed at the Council of Cashel in 1172, t which the Papal legate presided. Such silence can nly mean that the " Bull " did not exist, and as yet Ienry was unable to forge it for a reason which will be bvious later.

" It was said " † (observes Fr. Burke, the Dominican rator) " that Henry kept the letter a secret, because his nother, the Empress Matilda, did not wish him to act pon it. But if he had the letter when he came to reland, why didn't he produce it? That was his only arrant for coming to Ireland. He came there and nvaded the country, and never breathed a word about aving the letter to a human creature. There is a lie n the face of it."

From what has been said, it will be allowed that, at est, John of Salisbury's works do very little towards tablishing the authenticity of Adrian's Bull. It can

* *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. ii, p. 440, note.
† *The Sophistries of Froude Refuted—The Normans in Ireland.*

also be shown that other authorities for it are not more reliable. Salisbury, though speaking, as we have seen, of the existence of the Papal grant, if the genuineness of the last chapter of the *Metalogicus* be conceded, still does not give its text; and it was at least thirty years after Adrian's death that the "Bull" itself first appeared in the *Expugnatio Hibernica* of Giraldus Cambrensis. It is important to estimate the value of this testimony, as we believe it can be shown that every subsequent English chronicler who mentions it has simply accepted it on Giraldus's authority. Giraldus was twenty years of age when, in 1150, he went to study in Paris. Twenty-five years later (1175) the Archbishop of Canterbury sent him into Wales and named him Archdeacon of Brecknock; and it was not till 1184 that Henry II took any notice of him. He was named chaplain of the Court, but for some reason or other got no other preferment, though actively and by his pen he served the king's purposes both in Wales and Ireland. His fixed idea was to remove his native country from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and apparently to get himself appointed Archbishop of St. David's. With this object in view he refused two bishoprics—Bangor in 1190 and Llandaff in 1191—as well probably as others. In 1198 he got himself named to the See of St. David's, and set out immediately to Rome to obtain from Innocent III the realization of his pet projects. The Pope would have done what Giraldus wished; but the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury strenuously opposed the scheme, and it fell through, and Giraldus returned, enraged against the King and Court, without having effected his purpose.

He devoted the rest of his life to writing the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, publishing three editions of it—the first in or about the year 1188, and the last, dedicated to King John, in 1209. It is to some date between these two that the publication of the "Bull" of Adrian IV

; to be referred. Another copy is also found inserted in is autobiography (" De rebus a se Gestis "), which was vritten in 1295.

There is, however, little reliance to be placed in the orks of this author as regards historical facts. In his *xpugnatio* he candidly declares that truth was not his nly object, but that he took up his pen to glorify Henry [, * " Topographicam Hibernicam . . . in partris vestri udem triennii labore digessi." In fact, according to ie late editors of Giraldus's works in the " Rolls " ries (Dr. Brewer and the Rev. J. Dimock), it is fair to gard the Irish history as having been written with a urpose—that is, to win the king's favour, and hence stly to be accepted with suspicion, and looked upon ore as an epic poem than as sober relation of fact. rom the tone of mind Giraldus manifests, it is not at l unlikely that he would accept unquestioned any ocument which would favour the pretensions of his yal master, or promote the interests of the Welsh lventurers in Ireland. The preface to tom. v of the *pera Giraldi Camb.* completely and for ever demolishes s claim to be considered an historian. From it we ote the following:

" In the fifth chapter of the second book the early anuscripts give, under the year 1174 or 1175, a ivilege long before obtained from Pope Adrian IV, thorizing Henry II's invasion of Ireland, and a nfirmatory one of the then Pope, Alexander III, with me prefatory matter principally relating to the per- ns employed in bringing the privilege for publication to Ireland at this time, and to the agency of John of lisbury in having procured the first from Pope Adrian in 1155. All this in the early manuscripts is clear d consistent; agreeing perfectly, moreover, with the idence of contemporary authorities, and as regards e account of the procuring of Adrian's privilege fully

* *Opp.*, tom. i, p. 70.

corroborated by John of Salisbury himself. But th later manuscripts omit Alexander's privilege and a mention of him, and give Adrian's privilege only. Th prefatory matter had to be altered accordingly. I doing this they marvellously contrive to make Henry i 1172 apply for and procure this privilege from Pop Adrian, who died in 1159; and with equally marvellou confusion they represent John of Salisbury, who ha been Henry's agent in procuring the privilege in 115 as sent, not to Ireland, but to Rome, for the purpose publishing it at Waterford in 1170 or 1175. But th cause of the suppression and the germ of the blunderin in the prefatory matter were both perhaps supplied b Giraldus, in his copy of this chapter, as given in th '*De Instructione Principum.*' He there states, i introducing Alexander's privilege, that some asserted to be a forgery; and hence, perhaps, its suppressio afterwards in the 'Expugnatio,' by some rectifier of h history of Henry's papal rights over Ireland. . . .*

"I think I have said enough to justify me in refusin to accept Giraldus' history of the Irish and of the English invaders, as sober, truthful history. . . . Tru was not his main object: he says he compiled the wo for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry II."†

It would, indeed, almost seem as if succeeding Engli annalists were suspicious of Giraldus as a writer of sob history, as his record of events is made very little u of in other chronicles. The influence, however, of t publication of Adrian's "Bull" by Giraldus can traced to the historical writings of Matthew of Par through the records of Ralph de Diceto,‡ who compil his work about A.D. 1210. Matthew of Paris contribut more than any other to spread the "grant" of Adria but his mention of it in no way adds to the authority support of its genuineness. He did not live till nearly

* Preface, tom. v, pp. 69, 70. † *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 51, etc.
‡ *Imagines Historiarum.* Raoul de Diceto.

century after Pope Adrian; and in his *History* he, or the most part, till the year 1235, only makes a compendium of Roger Wendover, his fellow religious at St. Albans, whose chronicle again only professes to be, down to the thirteenth century, an epitome drawn from other sources, and is thus worthless as an independent witness. Besides the Bull of Alexander III, confirmatory of the grant" of Adrian IV., given in the works of Giraldus, and, as remarked by Dr. Brewer, rendered doubtful even on the authority of the same author, there are three letters attributed to the same Pope which have reference to the invasion of Ireland. They were first published in 1728 by Hearne in the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*—the Black-Book of the Exchequer—and are addressed respectively to the Irish Bishops, to the English king, and to the Irish princes. Dr. Moran remarks that "they are certainly authentic." They all bear the same date of the 20th September, are written from Tusculum, and are attributed to the year 1170. Although the author of the article in the *Analecta* does not agree with Dr. Moran as to the authentic character of these documents, he admits that they, at least, form some very powerful arguments against the genuineness of Pope Adrian's Bull. In the first place, they completely ignore its existence, and although entirely taken up with the affairs of Ireland, recognize no other title or claim of Henry to dominion in that country except "the power of the monarch, and the submission of the chiefs." They speak, moreover, of the Pope's rights over all islands, and ask Henry to preserve these rights. On this matter the *Analecta* points out that in the whole Bullarium there is no authentic document containing this claim. Again, no mention is made of Peterpence, which Adrian is supposed to have charged Henry to establish in Ireland by his Bull, and this although Alexander was writing twenty years after Adrian, and specially mentions certain papal rights. This would prove that the

"grant" of Adrian was unknown in Rome as com-
pletely as in England and Ireland. Such a deduction is
confirmed by the action of Pope John XXII with the
Ambassadors of Edward II at the beginning of the
fourteenth century. King John in 1213 had given
England over to the Holy See, to be held by him and
his successors as a fief from the Pope. Neither Edward
nor Edward II troubled himself about the matter, til
in A.D. 1316 the latter sent ambassadors to John XXI
on his accession, to offer a thousand pounds sterling
promised by John, and to excuse the English for pas
neglect in the matter of this tribute. No distinction i
made in the payment between that for England and
Ireland, and the fact that the Pope did not take advan
tage of so favourable an opportunity for reminding th
English king that he had not done homage for Ireland
nor paid tribute for it, seems to show that the "Bull
of Adrian was unknown at the Court of John XXI
It is certain also that historians of this time wer
ignorant of the existence of such a document, for durin
the residence of the pontifical Court at Avignon tw
*Lives of Pope Adrian IV were written. One wa
composed in A.D. 1331, and the second in 1356, and i
neither is there any mention of this important act
the Pope, although the authors find a place for man
less important documents.

It is true that Baronius inserts the "Bull" in h
Annals, and his authority is consequently claimed f
the authenticity of the document, especially as it
given with the additional information that his copy w
taken "from a Vatican manuscript." Until lately th
note had been taken as proof that an authentic copy w
to be found in the Roman archives. Dr. Moran, howeve
completely disposes of this evidence.†

"During my stay in Rome," he says, "I took occasi

* Muratori, *Scriptores rerum Italicarum* tom. iii.
† *Irish Ecclesiastical Record, ut sup.*, p. 61.

to inquire whether the MSS. of the eminent annalist (Baronius), which happily are preserved, indicated the special 'Vatican Manuscript' referred to in his printed text, and I was informed by the learned archivist of the Vatican, Monsignor Theiner, who is at present engaged in giving a new edition and continuing the great work of Baronius, that the 'Codex Vaticanus' referred to is a MS. copy of the 'History of Matthew of Paris,' which is preserved in the Vatican Library. Thus it is the testimony of Matthew of Paris alone that here confronts us in the pages of Baronius, and no new argument can be taken from the words of the eminent annalist. Relying on the same high authority, I am happy to state that nowhere in the private archives, or among the private papers of the Vatican, or in the 'Regesta,' which Jaffe's researches have made so famous, or in the various indices of the Pontifical Letters, can a single trace be found of the supposed Bulls of Adrian and Alexander."

We have been obliged more than once to refer to this Bull of Alexander III, which has been considered by most historians as absolutely certain proof of the authenticity of Pope Adrian's original "grant." The fact is that the second Bull rests on no better, if as good, evidence as the former which it is supposed to confirm. Giraldus Cambrensis states that it was granted by Alexander III in 1172 to Henry, in confirmation of Adrian's original donation of Ireland to England. The author of the *Macariæ Excidium* (p. 247)* considered that this fact "set at rest for ever all doubt as to the genuineness of the 'grant' made by Adrian IV." This second Bull, however, rests on no other authority than Giraldus, who himself throws some discredit upon the document. It was originally published as part of the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, though many later editors have separated it from that work. In another tract, *De*

* *Apud* Dr. Moran, *Ecclesiastical Record*, p. 59.

Instructione Principum, written towards the end of his life, Giraldus refers to the Bull in doubtful language. "*Sicut a quibusdam impetratum asseritur aut confingitur : ab aliis autem unquam impetratum fuisse negatur*"—"Obtained, as some assert or imagine, while others deny that it was ever obtained." On the original and sole authority for it, then, the genuineness is at best doubtful, and it becomes a very poor prop to support the claims of Adrian's "grant." To this we may add that the date and style of Alexander's Bull tends to throw discredit upon it. The three letters of the same Pope referred to are dated from Tusculum, in A.D. 1172, where we know from history that Alexander then was. The Bull, on the other hand, is supposed to have been issued from *Rome* in 1172, to which city Alexander did not return till six years later, when the disturbances which drove him into exile were quelled.

It is thus clear that the evidence upon which the existence of the confirmatory Bull of Alexander rests is not only doubtful at its source, but the place from which it is dated betrays the fact of forgery. And moreover, it is very improbable that Alexander would have been induced to give such a letter to Henry. The Pope must have known well that in 1159 the English king had supported the anti-pope Octavianus, and again, in 1166, another Guido against his own undoubted claim to the Papacy. This was well known, as Matthew of Westminster says that Henry forced every man, woman, and child in England to renounce his allegiance to the true and go over to the anti-pope. Only two years before the king had appeared as the bitter persecutor of St. Thomas and the abettor of his murder. It may consequently be argued with reason that Pope Alexander would not have been likely to issue a "Bull" in favour of Henry's pretensions to become the apostle of order and religion in Ireland. He must, indeed, have known the king too well to trust

him to act honestly, having already had samples of double-dealing in the long quarrel between the Archbishop St. Thomas and his sovereign. A notorious instance of Henry's capability of deceiving took place at the time of the coronation of the young prince, which was carried out while the Archbishop was out of favour at the Court. Nine years before, when the See of Canterbury was vacant, Henry had obtained from the Pope a grant allowing him to get any prelate to perform the ceremony; the reason assigned for asking this favour being that the coronation would take place probably before the See of Canterbury was filled up, and that the king wished to defeat any claim of the Archbishop of York to perform the ceremony. On the ground of this permission Henry now sought to make the Archbishop of York usurp the undoubted right of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Alexander, at the instance of St. Thomas wrote several letters* forbidding any prelate, and particularly his Grace of York, to usurp the office of crowning the prince. There is, notwithstanding, preserved among the papers of St. Thomas, a mandate from the Pope addressed to the Archbishop of York, ordering him to perform the ceremony. This document is a manifest forgery,† and is worth recording as evidence, if any were required, that Henry was quite capable of manufacturing or adapting documents to serve his own purposes, and that consequently we should be justified in accepting with caution the alleged "Bull" of Alexander or that of Adrian, which it was supposed to confirm, unless they were supported by independent testimony.

Giraldus Cambrensis, it is true, asserted that both these Bulls were produced in a Synod of Irish clergy at Waterford, in A.D. 1175, and most historians have looked upon this assertion as a proof that they must

* *Ep. St. Thom.*, ii, 45, 47.

† See Lingard, *History*, vol. ii, p. 153 note (5th ed.).

both have been authentic. It would, of course, be fai to argue from their production at this assembly only their existence; but Dr. Moran has shown that at bes it is extremely unlikely that any such synod was eve held at this time. In Irish annals there is no record o such meeting, which, indeed, the very disturbed stat of the country would have prevented at that time. In the same year, A.D. 1175, Henry seems to have appointed the first Bishop of Waterford, and so it is possible tha a meeting of the Anglo-Norman clergy, assembled fo the purpose of election or confirmation, may have bee magnified by Giraldus into a national Synod. In that case the production of the Bulls before an assembly o this character would have no special significance.

We may here note a strong confirmation of our doubts as to the authentic character of Pope Adrian's " grant," even if the subsequent " Bull " of Alexander is not also affected. Directly the murder of St. Thomas became known, Henry crossed over to Ireland with the object apparently of preventing the anger of the Pope finding him out by letters of excommunication or interdict. For five months a strict watch was kept on all vessels coming from the Continent, and not a ship was allowed to reach the Irish coast, even from England, without the king's knowing that it was not conveying any Papal letters. Directly a favourable message was brought to him at Wexford he set out at once, and, crossing England, passed over into Normandy. There, in the cathedral of Avranches, on the Sunday before the Assumption, 1172, Henry swore on the Gospels, in the presence of the legates, bishops, barons and people, that he was not guilty of the murder of the Archbishop. This oath, taken under such solemn circumstances, included the placing of the kingdom of England under the Pope, and the oath of fealty for it to Alexander.*

* This clause in the oath is not found in John of Salisbury's account; but Baronius inserts it as found in the Vatican Archives. Also Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. iii, p. 463.

Had Ireland at this time been really given to England by the Holy See, under such circumstances as these it would have been mentioned. This, however, is not the case. "Præterea ego," runs the oath, "et major filius meus rex juramus, quod a Domno Alexandro Papa, et ejus Catholicis successoribus recipiemus et tenebimus *regnum Angliæ*, et nos et nostri successores in perpetuum non reputabimus nos *Angliæ* veros reges donec ipse nos Catholicos reges tenuerint." In the following year Henry wrote to Pope Alexander by his secretary, Peter of Blois, and referred to his holding England as a fief under the Holy See, but neither in this is there any mention of Ireland.* These two facts are strong confirmation of any suspicions of the genuineness of Pope Adrian's Bull.

We have shown that the evidence in favour of the authentic character of the Papal grant of Ireland to the English Crown must be accepted with extreme caution, not with positive suspicion. The authorities upon which it has been so long received by English historians as a strange but true fact, prove, on examination, to be hardly reliable sources of information. Many external circumstances, as well as the inherent intrinsic improbability of the "grant," confirm the impartial mind in objecting to receive it as undoubted history. Moreover, the labours of the editor of the *Analecta* have now made it possible to show with reason that Adrian IV, so far from giving any encouragement to Henry in his designs on Ireland, in reality refused, when asked, to be a party to the enterprise, and pointed out the injustice of it. The idea of effecting the conquest of the island had suggested itself to the Conqueror and to Henry I, and it was but natural that the project should revive in the restless mind of Henry II. It must have been evident, however, to him that an English Pope would of necessity be cautious in favouring any pretensions of his own countrymen against a neighbouring country. The

* Lingard, vol. ii, p. 191, note.

knowledge that Adrian's approval would in all prob
ability be withheld, if the idea was started as a
English scheme, seems to have obliged Henry to loo
for some other sovereign to help him in obtaining th
authorization of the Pontiff for his design, and Loui
VII of France was clearly the only prince in a positio
to render him this service. On the theory that for thi
purpose Henry wanted to make a tool of Louis, we ca
explain a fact that has appeared to puzzle annalists—
namely, why it was that these two kings, who had bee
for a long time avowed enemies, suddenly, and by th
advances of Henry, became fast friends, just at th
very period, A.D. 1158. After many years of war an
contention Henry met Louis at Rouen, and not onl
made peace, but espoused his son to the infant daughte
of the French king. The Pope wrote to the Chancell
of Louis to convey his congratulations to the tw
sovereigns on their complete reconciliation. The tw
proceeded together to Paris, and afterwards made
joint pilgrimage to Mount St. Michael's, in Normandy
So complete was their reconciliation that at this tim
they despatched a joint mission to Rome to ask Adrian
blessing and approval of a hostile expedition they we
intending to make together. The choice of an Englis
man as ambassador seems to point to the fact that th
projected enterprise was of more importance to th
English than to the French king. Rotrodus, the envo
selected,† was at that time (A.D. 1158) Bishop
Evreux, and had been one of the witnesses of th
reconciliation between the two kings.‡ He was muc
attached to the interests of the English king, and ha
from the time of his coronation, at which he assiste
been employed in several missions for his royal maste
Amongst others, as we have noted before, he was in th

* Migne, *Patrol.*, tom. clx, p. 484.

† *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii, p. 776. See also the Pope's letter
reply. ‡ *Ibid.*, tom. iv, p. 633.

mbassy despatched to Rome by Henry in 1155. It as thus a courtier of Henry who was sent on this joint ission from the two monarchs.

Rotrodus arrived in Rome at the close of the year 158, or the beginning of the following year, and formed the Pope of the project entertained by Henry nd Louis. What this project was does not absolutely ppear, but there can be little doubt that it was really ne invasion of Ireland upon which the mind of Henry as intent. In order to give colour to the pretensions it as necessary to represent it as being intended in ality as a crusade in favour of religion. The Pope, owever, would not enter into the designs of the two ngs, and refused to be a party to such an injustice. e not only refused the request of Bishop Rotrodus, ut wrote to Louis at some length to point out the easons that compelled him to take this course. On this tter can be based many arguments to show that the titude of Adrian towards the proposals of the English ng as regards Ireland was one of strong disapproval, nd that granting that this letter refers to Ireland, it ould be impossible for Adrian to have issued, very uch about the same time, the "Bull" of donation at ne request of John of Salisbury.

In the first place, the Pope's letter shows clearly nough that his consent had been asked solely on the round that the expedition had a religious character, nd the fact of the reply being addressed to Louis ould probably only prove that Henry had taken care ot to be too prominent in the business for fear that ne real motive might become too apparent to the nglish Pope. Adrian proceeds to say that he could not ive consent to any project of such a nature, unless he ere certain that the people and clergy of the country anted foreign interference. This, be it remarked, is a ery different sentiment to that with which the same ope is credited in the alleged "Bull." The various

dangers which Louis is likely to run are then pointe
out to him by the Pope, and for every reason he co
cludes not to give him any "Bull" encouraging th
project till such time as he has warned the people of th
kingdom of the intention of the two kings in order t
see whether they will co-operate with them. In co
clusion, the Pontiff begs the king to reflect well on th
matter, and not to undertake the enterprise befo
consulting the bishops and clergy of the country.

It is as well at once to declare that the great difficult
in fixing the reference of this letter to the design
invading Ireland is the fact that the country is n
mentioned by name. Unfortunately, it was a commo
custom in the transcription of documents to write onl
the initial letter of proper names. Thus, in this lett
the envoy is called "R." Bishop of Evreux, and th
country the two kings were anxious to obtain the Pope
approval to invade is only "H," which may stan
equally well for "Hispania" and "Hibernia." We a
thus left to the internal evidence of the document itse
to determine to which of these two countries it ha
reference. Dr. Lingard was apparently aware of th
existence of the letter,* but it did not suggest itself t
his mind that it had any reference to Ireland. He says
"When Louis a few years later (1159) meditated
similar expedition into *Spain*, and for that purpos
requested the consilium et favorem Romanæ Ecclesia
the answer was very different. Adrian dissuaded hi
because it was "inconsulta ecclesia et populo terr
illius."

It is, however, clearly shown in the *Analecta* that
is impossible that this letter of Adrian, addressed to th
two kings, can have any reference to Spain, while ever
circumstance in it tending to fix the special country
gives weight to the opinion that it was Ireland abou
which the Pope wrote. In the first place, the documer

* *History*, vol. ii, p. 178, 5th ed., note.

efers not to a kingdom (*regnum*) but a country (*terra*). ow Ireland was not recognized as a kingdom officially ll the sixteenth century, and in all formal papers efore that time it is constantly spoken of as a country *erra*) merely. Spain, on the other hand, was at this me divided into three kingdoms—Castile, Aragon, and alicia; and the most powerful, the king of Castile, ad the title of Emperor. King Louis of France had nly a year or two before the date of the letter (1155) ade a pilgrimage to St. James, and was well received y his father-in-law the Emperor of Castile.* Hence, ot only have we the official title of Spain to be a king- om at the time when Adrian wrote, but it is impossible o suppose that Louis could have been so ignorant of ne feeling of a country in which he had not long before een journeying, and over which his own father-in-law eigned as Emperor.

Again, the country referred to in Adrian's letter learly had many princes or chiefs, which was quite true f Ireland, but not of Spain, about the state of which ne Pope could not be ignorant. It also, undoubtedly, nust have possessed its own episcopal hierarchy, apable of free deliberation; for Adrian advises Louis nd Henry to consult the bishops and clergy as to their ish to receive foreign intervention in their affairs. he Church in that part of Spain, at this time overrun y the Moors, had almost disappeared, and for the rest would have been quite unnecessary to ask the advice f the Spanish bishops as to punishing their oppressors. n the other hand, the Holy See must have been well cquainted with the flourishing state of the Church in reland at this period. During the hundred and fifty ears which preceded the reign of Henry II, numerous nd well-attended Councils had been held for the aintenance of discipline and regulation of morals. nly a few years before Henry made his first attempt

* Robertus de Monte. Migne, *Patrol.*, tom. clx, p. 478.

on the country, several great and renowned Irish saint occupied Sees in the country, and a great council wa held at Athboy at which 13,000 representatives of th nation attended to hear what the Church commanded That Adrian must have known the state of the Churc is rendered all the more likely since he had studied i Paris under a celebrated Irish professor, Marianus afterwards a monk of Ratisbon, for whom he conceive a great affection. It was only to be expected, therefor that if he had this knowledge of the Irish Church, h should require that the bishops and clergy be consulte as to the propriety of such an invasion as the Frenc and English kings contemplated.

It must be remembered, also, that Adrian desires tha the people of the country should be consulted, a thin impossible in the portions of Spain in possession of th Saracens. He also, throughout, repeats his doubts a to the utility and necessity of the enterprise propose by the kings, which would certainly not have been th case had their wish been merely to drive the infidel ou of Spain. It is obvious that Adrian, like all his pr decessors, would have been only too glad to gran protection to the kingdoms of France and England had the wish of the kings been merely to fight agains the Moors in Spain.

Lastly, a comparison of the alleged " Bull " of Adria and the authentic letter brings out one or two strang facts. In the first place, the document, as given b Giraldus, does not express the name or even initial o the prince to whom it was granted: " Adrianus epis copus servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christi fili illustri anglorum regi salutem." Next, the preamble o the " Bull " is almost word for word the same as tha of the letter written to Louis VII, in 1159, and althoug it might happen that a few words of two official docu ments would be the same, there is no other example o such a singular similarity, extending as it does over te

r fifteen lines. As this curious fact is the basis of a heory, we shall state in brief, to account for the orgery of the " Bull " of Adrian, it is worth reproducing he two documents in order that our readers may judge or themselves.

LETTER TO LOUIS VII.

Satis laudabiliter et fructuose de Christiano nomine ropagando in terris, et æteræ beatitudinis præmio tibi umulando in cœlis, tua videur magnificentia cogitare, dum l dilatandos terminos populi hristiani, ad paganorum, barariem debellandam et ad ntes apostatrices, et quæ atholicæ fidei refugiunt nec cipiunt veritatem, Christianum jugo et ditioni subdenas, simul cum charismo filio ostro Henrico illustri Anorum regi, in H. proferare tendis, et studes assidue (ut us hoc felicem exitum soratur) exercitum et quæ sunt ineri necessaria congregare. tque ad id convenientius ksequendum, matris tuæ crosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ nsilium exigis et favorem. uod quidem propositum tan magis gratum acceptumque nemus, et amplius sicut mmendandum est, commenamus, quanto de sinceriore aritatis radice talem intenonem et votum tam laudabile rocessum credimus, ac de ajori ardore fidei et religionis

" BULL " TO HENRY II.

Laudabiliter satis et fructuose de glorioso nomine propagando in terris, et æternæ felicitatis præmio cumulando in cœlis, tua magnificentia cogitat; dum ad dilatandos Ecclesiæ terminos fidei veritatem, et vitiorum plantaria de agro Dominico extirpanda, sicut catholicus princeps intendis; et ad id convenientius exsequendum, consilium Apostolicæ sedis exigis, et favorem. In quo facto, quanto altiori consilio et majori discretione procedis, tanto in eo feliciorem progressum te, præstante Domino, confidimus habiturum; eo quod ad bonum exitum semper et finem solent attingere, quæde ardore fidei et religionis amore, principium acceperunt, etc. Significasti se quidem nobis, fili in Christo carissime, te Hiberniæ insulam, ad subdendum illum populum legibus et vitiorum plantaria inde extirpanda, velle intrare, etc. Nos itaque, pium et laudabile desiderium tuum cum favore congruo prosequentes, et petitioni bonæ benignum impendentes assensum, gratum

amore propositum et desiderium tuum principium habuerunt.

et acceptum habemus, ut pr dilatandis Ecclesiæ termini pro vitiorum restringendo d cursu, pro corrigendi moribu et virtutibus inserendis, pr Christianæ religionis augme to, insulam illam ingrediaris.

It is almost impossible to compare the two document here given without coming to the conclusion that th similarity is not the result of a mere accident. The ide consequently suggests itself as possible that the text Adrian's actual refusal, as conveyed to the kings in th letter brought back by Rotrodus to Louis, was made t serve as the basis of the forged "Bull." What is certai about the matter is, that Louis and Henry havin applied to the Pope for his approbation of a propose invasion of a country called by its initial letter "H, the Holy Father refused to grant any such approbatio and grounded his refusal upon reasons similar to thos by which he is supposed, about the same time, to hav been induced to grant permission to Henry to invad Ireland. The two documents are strangely like in for and expression, and every circumstance, by which th country referred to by the letter "H" may be identifie points to the conclusion that it also was meant to ref to the proposed Irish expedition. Of course, had Adria really refused the permission asked for, as he clear did in his letter to Louis, the French king would hav known that any pretended permission was a forgery and had the refusal been intended to prevent an expedition to Ireland, the "Bull," which is supposed t have sanctioned it, could never have been produc during the lifetime of the French king. A reference t dates will show that this is so, and that all mention the existence of the document was carefully avoide before the year A.D. 1180, when Louis died.* Th

* In A.D. 1177 Henry was chosen to arbitrate between tw

lence which was kept for so many years about so nportant a document, and one which would have en so useful to Henry, has been often remarked upon suspicious, and has puzzled many historians to plain. May it not be accounted for by the knowledge at such a forgery would be at once detected by Louis? In fact, although the secret of the negotiations of otrodus with Adrian in behalf of Henry and Louis was pt so well, that the text of the Pope's refusal was until ely almost unknown, still the annalist of Archin who ntinued the chronicle of Sigebert appears to have had me suspicion of the fact. Speaking of the year A.D. 71, about the preparations made by Henry for the vasion of Ireland, he says:*—"Henry, king of gland, puffed up with pride, and usurping things *not ceded*; striving for things he had no business to do, epared ships and called together the soldiers of his gdom to conquer Ireland."

Whether this theory as to the origin of the "Bull" correct or not, it can safely be said that the evidence on which the authenticity of the document has so g been held, is at best very doubtful, and should be cepted with extreme caution. A careful examination l, we believe, induce most inquirers to reject the Bull" as an undoubted forgery, and to consider it re than probable that Pope Adrian IV, so far from nting any approbation to Henry in his designs on land, or making any donation of that country to the glish crown, in reality positively refused to be a party such an injustice.

nish kings. In this office he styled himself "King of England, e of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou." No tion is made of Ireland (Rymer, tom. i).

Migne, *Patrologie*, tome clx, p. 307.

POLYDORE VERGIL'S "HISTORY"*

THE importance of Polydore Vergil's *History* for t reign of Henry VII is fully recognized by students of that time. Dr. James Gairdner, witho doubt our first English authority for the events of t period of our national history, considers that with t exception of the poetical story of Bernard André, fr which we learn something, albeit very little, Verg work may be regarded as the only contemporary hist of this reign. Dr. Wilhelm Busch also, in his excell study of *England under the Tudors*, speaks as strong about our indebtedness to this cultured Italian eccle astic, and declares that " for elegance of language, ea narrative, firmness and independence of judgm [Polydore's work] far surpasses [that of] all the Engl historians of his day." Even for the reign of Hen VIII, although he is considered by some as " not trustworthy, owing to his bias against Wolsey," authority cannot be altogether set aside, since in opinion of Mr. Brewer " no man was better inform on European politics " at this time.

It is curious that in the case of a book of such impo ance for the history of the early Tudor sovereigns attempt has been made to provide students with critical edition, at least of the last two books, wh deal with the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VI Even for the reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV,

* A paper read at a meeting of the Royal Historical Soci 19 December 1901.

Richard III, in the opinion of so competent an authority
s Sir Henry Ellis, Polydore's *History* "is indispensable
o fill a chasm of near seventy years in a dark period
of our national life], since he wrote this portion of
is work whilst many of the persons alluded to in the
vents of the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III
ere alive and also communicated with him." I hope
hat in what I am about to say I shall be able to show
hat it is time some scholar undertook a critical edition
f this important work.

By way of preface it may be useful to give a brief
ccount of our author and of what we know about his
story. Polydore Vergil was a native of Urbino in
aly. His family name was apparently de Castello, and
e was a relative of Cardinal Hadrian de Castello, under
hose patronage he first found his way to England.
orn some time in the latter half of the fifteenth
ntury, he becomes first known to the learned world
y a book of Latin proverbs which he dedicated to
uke Guido Ubaldo of Urbino and published at Venice
1498. In the first years of the sixteenth century,
commended by Pope Alexander VI to the English
ng, Vergil came over to this island as sub-collector
Peter's pence, and by 1508 we find him nominated
Henry VII to the archdeaconry of Wells. Two years
er he became naturalized, but in 1514 or 1515, falling
der the displeasure of Cardinal Wolsey, he was put
o prison, and upon being liberated after many
nths' incarceration he paid a visit to his native place
Urbino. After a short stay he returned once more to
gland, where he remained, with the exception of two
rs again spent in Italy, until 1552, when he retired
manently to Urbino, where he died probably about
55.

We are, of course, mainly concerned with the com-
ition of his history. The *Anglica Historia*, as the
hor calls it, has been often printed—twice at least

by Vergil himself. These editions—published in 153 and 1546—comprised twenty-six books and carried th history of England down from the earliest times to th death of Henry VII. From the letter prefixed to thes editions and dated August 1533 we learn that the wor was dedicated and presented to Henry VIII. At subsequent date, according to most authorities, Poly dore enlarged his work, adding the twenty-sevent book, which related the story of the reign of Henr VIII down to the year 1538. In this form the book wa printed in 1555, again in 1557, and several times sinc I need say nothing as to the literary merits of the histor itself. It was a great advance undoubtedly in th method of telling the story of a nation on anythin which had gone before—at least in England. Verg gave a consecutive readable story, using his materia and weaving them into a narrative on the lines of th modern historian rather than on those of the o English chroniclers.

This fact may help us to understand why the public tion of his *History* raised many prejudices against o author in the minds of his contemporaries which ha barely given place to more just appreciation even writers of our day. In his desire to sift fact from leger he touched Englishmen in some tender spots. He di carded Brute, for example, as a mythical hero, an considered Geoffrey of Monmouth's works as a heter geneous mixture of truth and fiction, not to be reli upon as history. To defend the legendary antiquity their country, writers like Leland and Sir Henry Sav charged Vergil with looking at our ancient records wi foreign spectacles; whilst others, like Caius, a subsequently Gale, declared that he had wilfully d stroyed ancient records or shipped them out of t country that his misrepresentations should not detected by posterity. I need hardly say that no one the present day believes these baseless charges agai

ur author, though few people perhaps are inclined to ttribute much importance to the *Anglica Historia.*

A quotation from the above-named study of Dr. Busch will show, better than any words of mine, the eculiar value and importance of Vergil's work for the eigns at least of the first two Tudor sovereigns, and will ake it clear, I think, that a new edition of so important n historical document ought long ago to have been ndertaken by some competent authority. "The *listory of Henry VII*," he writes, "is by far the best nd most original part of the whole work. As in the ase of the chronicler Hall, his history of Henry VII's me appears so perfectly different in design and haracter from that of Henry VIII that, when comaring the two parts critically, we must be careful to ivide them. It is probable that, as soon as Polydore ad conceived the idea of his historical work, he comenced his notes in his diary (see the preface to the venty-seventh book), but we are unable to determine xactly the date when he did so. . . . As Polydore was ot living in England during the time of Richard III, or during the first fifteen years of Henry VII's reign, e could only describe the events of those periods at cond hand. The independent spirit which is displayed y Polydore in manipulating his material is in striking ntrast to the English historians of the day, and makes specially difficult for us to discover the sources from hich he drew." Then, after remarking on the way in hich generally Vergil's statements bear the test of ocumentary evidence, Dr. Busch continues: "We and, of course, on more firm ground for the last four six years of the King's [Henry VII] life, when olydore himself was an eyewitness. The most brilliant rtion of his work is his excellent appreciation of enry's character, which concludes it."

Now, in the case of a work more than once printed by author and so frequently used from the days of

Francis Bacon to those of Dr. Busch, it will probabl
appear somewhat strange that I come forward at thi
time to advocate the need of a new and critical edition
but I venture to think I shall be able to convince yo
that I do not do so without solid reasons. Many yea
ago, whilst looking through the volumes of transcript
in the Public Record Office made for the nation by th
late Father Stevenson, I came upon his copy of a
English chronicle transcribed from a manuscript in th
Vatican Library. There was nothing—and indeed at th
present day there is nothing—to indicate the nature o
the work, or to suggest the name of its author; but th
only writer whom I could associate with an Englis
chronicle coming down to a date as late as the battle o
Flodden was Polydore Vergil himself. On confrontin
a printed edition of the *Anglica Historia* with th
Record Office transcript, two things at once becam
evident: (1) that the published history was certainl
founded on the manuscript; and (2) that the difference
were very considerable, and not uninteresting. Thes
differences were not merely stylistic—hardly a sentenc
indeed, was exactly the same—but substantial; passage
appearing in the print which were not found in th
manuscript and *vice versa*: moreover, it was apparen
that the whole print had been edited in a very curiou
and systematic way.

Upon finding out this much I wrote to my frien
Father Erhle, the ever courteous librarian of th
Vatican Library, asking whether he could tell me som
thing about the original; how it was described in the
catalogues, and whether there was nay indication
authorship in the manuscript. In the course of time h
replied, stating that the transcript at the Record Offi
was copied from one of two volumes containing Polydo
Vergil's *History*, and that the work was supposed to h
the original autograph copy corrected by the auth
himself. On my next visit to Rome I carefully studie

ıe two volumes, with some curious and not uninterest-
g results.

The volumes in question formed part of the great
ollection made by the first Dukes of Urbino, and
ainly brought together with the assistance and under
ıe influence of their librarian, Federigo Veterani.
refixed to the first volume of this manuscript history
a letter addressed to Duke Francis in 1613 by Anthony
ergil Batteferi, who describes himself as Polydore
ergil's grand-nephew. In this document he explains
ıat having lately found "these volumes of Polydore
ergil's English History, written in his own hand, and
y his commands safely preserved during civil disorders
ı the Firminian Castle," he had determined to offer
ıem as a not unworthy addition to the celebrated
rbino Library. He had hesitated, he says, to do so
ecause he found that this copy differed from the print
ı some places and that not a few sentences had been
uite changed; but on consideration he determined
ɔ carry out his first intention, under the belief that
ınce this was undoubtedly the autograph copy it was
ot unworthy to find a place in the ducal library. "For
hat," asks the writer of this epistle, "can be more
esired in such a library of manuscripts than originals,
r *autographs*, as they are called when they are written
y the hand of the author himself; and among authors
orthy of all esteem surely Polydore must certainly
nd a place."

Prefixed to the second volume is a note addressed by
he same Anthony Batteferi to the reader, in which he
egs him to remark that the divisions of the books in
he manuscript are different from those in the printed
opies; the fourteenth, for example, in the former (*i.e.*
he manuscript) being the sixteenth in the latter or
rint, and so on. "If," he adds, "the corrections made
ı this autograph copy, and the changes and additions
ıade in printing the work, be rightly considered, they

will tend to show how the author polished his style, a
will exalt his candour, prudence, and judgment."

That the manuscript has been corrected diligently
certain. A slight examination of the Vatican manuscri
will show how carefully the author has worked and
worked at his first draft. The corrections indeed are
considerable that at times whole passages, and inde
pages, have been cancelled and others inserted; whil
hardly a single leaf can be found free from some alter
tion. These changes are all obviously in the hand whi
wrote the manuscript, and for this reason the volu
has been regarded as the first and original draft
Vergil's *History* made, as his grand-nephew not u
reasonably supposed, by Polydore himself.

All this, however, is not so clear as it might seem to
at first sight. There is this strange and puzzling poi
about the manuscript: it is most certainly *not* in t
handwriting of Polydore Vergil at all, nor have t
corrections been made by him. Those who are a
quainted with the Urbino manuscripts in the Vatic
Library can have no manner of doubt that these t
volumes were written by the hand of the celebrat
librarian of the Dukes of Urbino, already name
Federigo Veterani. There is ample material for formi
a correct judgement on the matter; for in the three a
forty years during which he held office under the fi
three Dukes, Federigo, Guidubaldo, and Frances
Maria I, Veterani copied, with his own hand, six
volumes for the ducal library. Of these, eleven are st
extant in the Vatican collection with Veterani's nam
attached to them. In this special case, moreover,
the end of the second volume of the manuscript *Histo*
we have the following note in the hand that wrote t
previous pages and corrected them (I translate of cours
" Memorandum for the nuns of St. Clare at Urbi
that they carefully preserve this work during the tim
of the wars, &c., and when the troubles are over th

hey restore it. Here are bound up together twenty-one ooks of a manuscript history of England written for he English king. Also five books of a copy of the said istory. I beg that they may be carefully kept with ther volumes in the venerable convent of the nuns of t. Clare at Urbino until with God's blessing these wars ome to an end. I, Federigo Ludovico Veterani of rbino, have written this whole work (*scripsi totum pus*). The fifteenth and last book is signed with a etter P. Thanks be to God. Amen."

This is definite enough, and it may be taken, therefore, s certain that Veterani not only wrote this manuscript f Polydore Vergil's *History*, but, what is more, cor- ected it throughout, as if he were correcting his own riginal draft. The only suggestion I can offer in xplanation of this is that Vergil some time about the nd of the year 1515, or more probably, as Mr. Brewer ays, in the spring of 1516, went to Italy. During this isit he would almost certainly have gone to his native lace, Urbino, and (if I am right in my theory) he then nduced his friend Veterani—his patron's librarian—to hrow into shape the notes he had collected for the great ork on English history he had already projected. This eems to be the only theory which will account for the acts. What is certain is (1) that the *History* claims to e, and clearly is, Polydore Vergil's; (2) the manuscript ontains personal indications of his authorship; (3) he printed editions are based upon this manuscript, nd indeed closely follow it; while (4) the manuscript s as certainly written and corrected by Veterani in uch a way as to make it clear that this was the original raft and no mere copy of a previous draft of the uthor. The wars and civil disturbances mentioned by eterani help us to guess the time when his share in the ork was finished. The siege of Urbino in September 516, its capture and subsequent recapture in 1517 by uke Francis, would seem to point to the time when

Veterani considered it best to conceal some of th manuscripts of the ducal library in the Convent of Sant Chiara, especially when we know that many of th treasures which remained in the palace actually di perish during those disturbances. This date (1516-17 too fits in excellently with the events recorded in th manuscript history of Henry VIII, which is brought t a close with the burial of James IV of Scotland afte the battle of Flodden in 1513.

If this supposition that the manuscript represents th first draft of the subsequently printed *History* mad from Vergil's notes be correct, the importance of th manuscript is, from an historical point of view, greatl enhanced. It represents the author's real view o persons and events far more certainly than does th subsequent print, which was unquestionably edited i view of circumstances, which after the penning of th draft made it perhaps prudent and politic to tone dow expressions of opinion, or introduce passages reflectin on individuals who had forfeited the royal favou which did not find a place in the original notes. To tak one example, Mr. Brewer, after speaking of Vergil' imprisonment for writing against the King and Wolsey and his subsequent liberation after the latter ha obtained his hat in 1515, says: " Polydore went hom in the spring of 1516 and took immortal revenge whe he was fairly out of the Cardinal's reach. He sneered a the Cardinal's birth, sneered at his ingratitude, sneere at his buildings, sneered at his administration of justice sneered at his cardinal's hat," etc. The writer then goe on to comment on the celebrated passage in the twenty seventh book of the printed history of Henry VIII which, copied and embellished by various writers fro Hall to Froude, has been the foundation of the genera verdict of history as to the great Cardinal. Burnet, fo example, has his fling at Polydore for his character o the Cardinal, and thinks that he has certainly " suffici

ntly revenged himself on Wolsey's memory" for the ardinal's somewhat coarse usage of the cultured talian. Upon which Sir Henry Ellis asks: "Who is here that has studied the history and correspondence f Wolsey's time but sees the corroboration, in every art, of the portrait which Polydore Vergil has drawn?" n our time this question has been answered in the egative by one who has studied the history and correpondence of the time, and moreover Mr. Brewer's keen nd sound historical instinct enabled him to divine that his passage was, if not an insertion, at least intended nerely as an "immortal revenge" upon the memory f Wolsey. The manuscript helps us to see that this urmise was in part correct, for not one line of this itter invective of the subsequent print finds a place n the original draft. It was not penned when in 1516 Polydore found himself in Italy beyond the reach of the ll-powerful Cardinal, nor probably as a mere revenge, ut subsequently, when arranging the original draft for he press after the fall of Wolsey, the author found that ome caustic reflections on his memory would not make is work less pleasing to Henry VIII.

I now propose to give some examples of the changes vhich were introduced into the text of the *History* when t was printed in 1534. I have already spoken of the etter, dated 1533, which Polydore addressed to the King as the preface of his work. This letter appears also n the manuscript, but in a considerably longer form. t was consequently penned long before the date of the rint, and, what is of greater interest, the manuscript ersion enables us to supply some details as to the omposition of the *History* which have disappeared in he latter forms. The first portion of the letter, although resenting great differences between the two versions, eed not call for special remark; but when the author omes to speak of the English histories which had xisted before his time we find that a good deal of the

manuscript version has disappeared altogether in th print. For example: in the former St. Bede is describe as "a man venerable for the sanctity of his life"; i the latter he is simply "homo Anglus"—an Englis man. Of the following passage in the draft nothin has found its way into the edited text: "I conside that of the various annals [which have come down t us] those written about English affairs by the monk William of Malmesbury and Matthew Paris should b accounted true histories. I call those which wer composed of old by monks who were wont to engage i such writing in English monasteries mere annals, an in such records bald statements of events are sometime made inconsistent with other statements and not un frequently mingled with obvious errors. Reports c things that have taken place as they were talked abou on the highways were noted down by the monks i their solitudes from the descriptions of travellers an from popular rumour which reached them. Such annal long neglected and dust-covered, William of Malmesbur and Matthew Paris have utilized and called their own Still from their own histories and from those of foreig countries that have had relations with England any on who did not mind the labour could get material for proper history. But since, as Pliny says, it is hard t invest old records with the charm of novelty and t light up the dark spots in history, men have till no been deterred from writing history, and it might easil have happened that in the course of time the great deed of English kings and those of this most noble peopl would be altogether forgotten. This, O most gloriou King, it was worth striving to prevent, for your kingdo can beyond question compare favourably with an other in its religious observances, in its wealth, and i the power of its sovereigns."

Then follows a passage in the manuscript of which mere trace only has survived in the printed edition, an

hich, as it deals with the history of Vergil's actual work, here venture to translate, although the quotation is mewhat lengthy. "As soon as I had come to England," he writes, "in order not to give myself up to ere idleness I imposed upon myself the task of writing ie history of the peoples who had inhabited this elebrated island from the earliest times to our own ays. In this long period the kingdom had grown from nall beginnings, and what it needed was an historian orthy of its greatness. Thus it happened that I first egan to spend the hours of my night and day in earching the pages of English and foreign histories in rder to see whether (if I may make use of such an xpression) out of so vast a forest of events I might be ble to cut some fagots with which to warm the workhop where so great a work was destined to be done. What shall I say more? I spent six whole years in eading these annals and histories, during which, nitating the bees which laboriously gather their honey om every flower, I collected with discretion material roper for a true history. When, on approaching our wn times, I could find no such annals (for indeed by ie careless spirit of our age none such exist), I betook yself to every man of age, who was pointed out to me s having been formerly occupied in important and ublic affairs, and from all such I obtained information bout events up to the year 1500. From that time—nce I came to England immediately after that date -I have myself noted down day by day everything of nportance."

I may here, perhaps, be allowed to point out that the atican manuscript clears up a doubt which has rested pon the exact date of Vergil's coming to England. It as hitherto been a mere matter of inference. Some ave argued that it was in 1501; others, like the writer the *Dictionary of National Biography*, that it was possibly in the early part of 1502." This latter date,

which is that adopted by Dr. Busch, is correct, sinc
under the year 1502 Vergil expressly says in the manu
script draft, " In this year I first came to England."

To return to the dedication: at this point a passag
of considerable length has been altogether cancelled i
the draft by the hand of Veterani. Much of the delete
paragraph is now quite illegible, but with care an
attention the sense of the passage at least can be mad
out. It is not uninteresting and is much as follows
" In this way, when at length I was prepared for writin
my history, I still hesitated to make a beginning, bein
fearful lest the very magnitude of the undertaking pu
it wholly beyond my powers. Whilst I remained in thi
uncertainty of mind, many people—for indeed m
studies were known to every one—thought that I ha
finished my work. They most luckily spoke to you, C
King, on the subject, and by this means, as it turne
out, there was given me the very impetus necessary t
carry the work to a conclusion. And, indeed, you ma
really be said to have been the true cause of my begin
ning the work, since at length this is what happened
when the rumour of my undertaking being finishe
reached your ears, most serene Majesty, one day, whils
conversing with me on literary matters, you deigned t
ask whether I had entirely concluded my occupatio
or task. To this I replied that in truth I had not ever
begun it: whereupon you so encouraged me that
trusting to the authority of your name, I took up th
heavy and difficult work, hoping that what I did migh
prove acceptable to you and to the English peopl
generally, inasmuch as I was but trying to rescue fro
oblivion the lives of the illustrious kings, your ancestors
and beyond that merely to chronicle the events of you
own reign."

The uncancelled but yet unprinted portion the
continues: " In this way now well prepared for writing
with God's help I attacked the labour and at lengt

inished it satisfactorily; for I have told the story of hings lately done by you in so elegant a manner that vithout doubt the concluding portion of my book will e more pleasing to my readers than any other. In the vhole work I have not desired or thought of anything eyond showing a sufficiency of learning: of set purpose have made use of a simple style by which light is est thrown on difficult matters and illustrious deeds nade to appear in greater glory. I have taken care to et down properly the many names of places and the urnames of men, which are hardly to be put into Latin, referring—[I may remark that this was changed in the rint, and it is often difficult to recognize names of ersons and places in their latinized form]—to write hem thus rather than (as must otherwise happen) to lestroy their meaning; as to the rest I hope I have done ny best: I have written as an Italian (outsider) and I ave faithfully told everything. As far as I could I ave put away affection, bias, and fear, and have voided the blot of partiality as well as the calumnious eports of evil-wishers. Before beginning to criticize, vill those who desire to do so recall to their minds the act that I have laboured only for the good of my eaders as no one before me has attempted to do? If hey shall find in the work things needing correction vhich have escaped me, and this I doubt not—for I am man and liable to err—I pray them to occupy their ninds with the good side of my work rather than try o injure the reputation of my industry. This work of nine is so far satisfactorily completed that at least, ut of the vast mass of annals, I have prepared material or others who after me may wish to write our history n a more elegant way and enrich its diction at their leasure."

So much for the introduction. It will be allowed that rom the manuscript draft we learn a good deal of nterest connected with the history of the work. I have,

of course, made no attempts to compare the texts systematically beyond a certain point, but I can easily give examples of substantial differences.

The following passage about Hadrian Castello's palace in the Borgo in Rome, one of the fine buildings in the city, which he gave to the English, has been altogether, for some not quite obvious reason, omitted from the print. "In his [*i.e.* Pius II's] place," runs the manuscript, "there was chosen Julian, Cardinal of S. Peter ad Vincula, a Ligurian by birth, under the name of Julius II. The three ambassadors of the [English] king came to offer his royal congratulations, and Hadrian di Castello, the bishop of Hereford, whom a short time before Alexander VI. had made cardinal, entertained them in his house in Rome. This same Hadrian the English king translated about this time from the see of Hereford to that of Bath and Wells. And Cardinal Hadrian, besides the daily prayers he offered both for the king and for the whole English nation, determined to leave a lasting monument to prove to all men that he was not unmindful of the benefits he had received from Henry, and that he ever loved the English nation. In this mind he gave to the king the magnificent palace which he had built in Rome near the Vatican, and he ornamented it with the royal arms, that people might plainly see that the noble edifice was dedicated for ever to the English name."

Again, the following addition in the draft manuscript to the printed account of the sweating sickness given in the twenty-sixth book is worth preserving. "This disease at the time [1485] first pervaded England, and subsequently it often greatly afflicted the country. At this time, too [1516] it is not lightly prevalent." I may here remark that the note "*at this time*" also points to the date I have suggested as that of the composition of the manuscript draft, for the disease again made its appearance in 1516 and 1517, as we learn from the

tate papers. "And certainly," the manuscript con-
nues, "we should not pass over in silence the fact that
ne disease was unknown before the former date [1485].
t began at the beginning of Henry's [*i.e.* the Seventh]
eign, and although in a short time it ceased its ravages
or a while, it returned towards the close of his rule.
fterwards, during the four years which elapsed before
ne next great outbreak, it was fatal only to those who
eglected proper remedies. The common opinion was
nat it was a presage of the severity with which Henry
as to rule his people. But, perchance, the sweating
ckness had another meaning; namely that Henry
ould only keep his power by the sweat of his brow,
hich certainly was the case. For from the very com-
nencement of his reign he was constantly harassed by
esh conspiracies against him, and moreover only
scaped danger, ever present from the arms of his
nemies and the rebellions of his subjects, by great
ersonal labour."

It would be impossible within reasonable limits to
oint out even the important changes which have been
ade in the printed edition from this first draft. I must
ntent myself with mentioning one or two that I have
ecially noticed in running through the pages of my
otebook. For example: the character of King Henry
I is given in the draft at greater length than we find
in the edited text, and it closes with the following
ssage, of which only a trace remains: "He was most
atient, and the more he suffered from calamities and
xperienced the contumely of his enemies the more he
anked God, openly saying that these evils had rightly
llen on him, partly on account of his own sins and
artly because of the offences of his people. With this
ersonal holiness was united the fulness of the love of
od, by reason of which, even in this life, he was
erited to be known to men for his miracles—for there
e many alive now who have witnessed them and can

give testimony to them. For this reason King Henr VII rightly, a few years ago, urged Pope Julius II t number him among the Saints; but being overtake by death he left this matter to be completed by his so Henry VIII." The print, I would note, has merely in place of this last sentence—" but being overtake by death he could not bring the matter to a conclusion. It seems not unlikely that in 1533, when the manuscrip was ready for the press, the King would not care to b reminded of this charge left him by his father.

An instance of a minute but curious mistake whic has been perpetuated through the print is worth givin In 1488, according to the edited text, Henry VII passe Christmas at Norwich. Bacon, in his history of th reign, has followed Polydore Vergil, but his recen editor, Spedding, has pointed out that this date certainly incorrect, as the king was elsewhere at Chris mas, and that the " Heralds' " account, printed b Leland (" coll." iv), gives *Easter* as the time whe Henry remained at Norwich for the festival on h journey from Edmundsbury to Walsingham. It satisfactory to find that the original draft has th correct date—" *festa paschalia peregit.*"

I may here note that in editing the print Vergil ha struck out almost every sentence relating to the cha acter, etc., of the bishops, which the draft usually giv upon their appointment. I do not profess to understan why this should be so, but the omissions are generall I think, to be regretted. For example, on the dea of Archbishop Henry of Canterbury, who is called the draft by his surname " Archbishop Henry Dene Warham was appointed. The edited text mere chronicles the fact, but the manuscript goes on describe him as a man of great modesty who " step step mounted to the highest dignity in the Engli Church, for which, by reason of his learning and pru ence, he was considered both by the king and

uncil to be most fitted of all" other churchmen. To e see of London William Baron was promoted, a man learned in the law and endowed with an acute dgment."

I can hardly conclude these brief notes of difference tween the draft manuscript version of Vergil's *History* d the printed text without some reference to his aracterization of the reign of Henry VII. Dr. Busch nsiders that "the most brilliant portion of his work his excellent appreciation of Henry's character, which ncludes it." But here, too, the editing is considerable. the first place the print somewhat exaggerates the ous practices of the king, and the picture of Henry I daily "hearing two or three Masses" and loving attend frequent sermons, and "on Sundays and stivals himself reciting the Divine office," etc., which derived from the edited text, in the draft merely pears in the statement that "he daily most reverently as present at Mass," which was the common practice most practical Christians in those days. Moreover, e print has suppressed the following passage with nich the account of Henry's character ends: "But e vice of avarice alone, to which (as we have previously own) he was much addicted, afterwards overshadowed ese great virtues. For this vice, which even in a ivate individual is a great evil, ever warping the aracter, in a ruler must be looked on as most detest- le, inasmuch as it destroys and perverts that trust, stice, and uprightness by which a kingdom is ruled." may note that this portion of the manuscript has been vice struck out and rewritten in the draft. It is, erefore, a most deliberate judgement.

It will be noticed that the author refers to something had already said about the king's tendency to arice. This passage is to be found in the manuscript folio 269, and is, of course, also left out in the print. is somewhat lengthy, and so I will not inflict it upon

my audience, but will content myself with saying tha it reflects in plain terms upon the harshness with whic Henry VII ruled his people during the latter years his reign.

I trust that I have convinced my hearers that in th Vatican MSS. (Urb. 497-498) there is material for a ne edition of the very important *Anglica Historia* Polydore Vergil.

A SKETCH OF MONASTIC CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY*

THE Count de Montalembert's work needs no recommendation. It might, perhaps, have been thought that the subject was too remote from the main interests of the present day to make any new edition possible. The fact, however, that one is called for is the best evidence of the continued popularity of *The Monks of the West*.

In this introduction I propose to spend no words on the work itself, or on its author, to whom as a monk I cannot but feel the utmost gratitude, since he, a man of the world, has so thoroughly understood, and, as an artist, so graphically pictured, the services rendered by the Monastic Order to mankind. My purpose is to occupy the space allotted to me in dealing with a matter which did not engage Montalembert's attention, and which, perhaps, has not hitherto been sufficiently considered. The subject, which I may call from analogy *Monastic Constitutional History*, will be found to present many features of interest.

Writing, as Montalembert did, with the design of presenting to the world a popular account of the workings of the monastic system in Europe, as exemplified in the lives of those monks whose names are chiefly known to us in the history of nations, it did not enter into the scope of his work to give any definite account of this

* Written as an Introduction to a reprint of Montalembert's *Monks of the West*, August 1895.

stic history. It is obvious that during
covers fourteen hundred years, the principle
nastic organization will have varied to mee
ous and varying conditions of time and place.
would seem desirable that those who may wish t
understand the full bearing of Western monachis
should have at hand some consecutive account of th
purely constitutional side of monastic government. I
this belief, the chief part of the present introduction
devoted to a sketch of the changes of policy and goverr
ment inaugurated at various stages in the history of th
Order. But to make this intelligible it is first necessar
to take into account the general principles whic
underlie the whole theory of monasticism.

It is undeniable that the monastic order is a grea
fact in the history of European civilization. Augustin
in England, Boniface in Germany, Ansgar in Scandi
avia, Swithbert and Willibrord in the Netherland
Rupert and Emmeran in the territories of Austri
Adalbert in Bohemia, Gall and Columban in Switzerlan
and Eastern France—all are names of monks who mus
be regarded as the first to lead the nations from th
darkness of paganism and savagery to the light of th
Christian faith and the blessings of a civilized life. It
not too much to say that few nations of the moder
world have been converted to Christianity, or tutore
in the arts of peace, except through the medium
monasticism.

In view of this broad fact, it is impossible to doub
that the monastic system must possess some strang
power, some special gift of influencing bodies of men.
glance at the monuments which these great men hav
left behind them will reveal the secret of their powe
and the principle in the working of which they assure
their success. Canterbury, Fulda, Salzburg, St. Ga
and the thousand abbeys which existed, or still exis
in Europe, all testify to the monastic life which th

apostles of the Western nations carried with them into the countries they evangelized. The monastery was the pulpit of the monk-apostle, and his power for good lay not in his words chiefly, but in the example of his monastic life.

This is the secret of the conversion of European peoples. St. Augustine, for example, came with forty companions, all trained in the same "school of the Divine service." They landed in England, winning the country to Christ with cross and banner, and with the songs of the liturgy on their lips; they pray, they live the life of the Church in contemplation and in labour. Their names are for the most part unknown, except some few who are later selected to found similar centres in other parts of the country. History hardly tells us that they preached and taught; they lived and worked and died, and behold the peoples among whom they dwelt were Christian. It is the same elsewhere. Even in his martyrdom and death St. Boniface associated with himself thirty of his monastic brethren.

It is an old truth—as old, at least, as the days of Solomon—that the heart does not long for what the eye does not see. Words are indeed powerful when they touch the springs of memory, or rouse the feelings in regard to some well-known and well-loved object, but they are powerless to fire the imagination as can the actual presence of the object itself. And if this is so in regard to matters with which we are naturally sympathetic, it is much more true in respect to what is repugnant to our natural tendencies, or what requires an effort to be understood or to be put into practice.

There is nothing more noble, but at the same time nothing harder to nature or less likely to fire mere natural enthusiasm, than the Christian life. Faith in the unseen, submission of the intellect and of the will, war to be ever waged against the passions—"the cross, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Gentiles

foolishness"—these are the framework of the Christian rule of conduct. There is little here likely to find a response in the untuned nature of man. True it is that the godlike spark still slumbers in the soul, however fallen and depraved, but it is buried too deep for bare words to reach, and is too dull for the breath of argument or exhortation to kindle it into life. The burning fire of enthusiasm and heroic self-devotion can alone reanimate it and make it burst into a living flame. Eloquence, even when supported by learning, education, energy, and influence, is not the means by which the conversion of nations is brought about. They may concur, they may bring the work to a conclusion, they may rouse the attention and excite the curiosity, but it is the life of the preacher, or rather the fact of his aiming at a higher ideal than that to which he invites his hearers, that touches the heart, subdues the will, and finally leads the intellect to accept the faith of Christ. It was not the learning of the Apostles, but the fact that they had left all to follow their Master, that drew after them the largest hearts and intellects of the empire of Rome.

The Monk is, therefore, pre-eminently the Apostle. But his apostolate is not exercised to its full extent as an individual. A single man, though he be a saint, is but one. He comes and he goes; and although he draw all after him like the whirlwind, or flash into the darkness as lightning, passing fron east to west, he lives his little space and is gone. Even a Francis Xavier could not convert a nation or build up a Church in India or Japan. The Christian life is not merely the life of an individual, it is the life of a society, and as such it cannot be illustrated in its relation and practical workings by the example of any one person. To establish a Christian nation it is necessary to present for the imitation of the people who are to compose it, not the bare laws and regulations of the Church, but an actual pattern of a

Christian society. This is found pre-eminently in the monastic life; and it is the monastic order, therefore, is distinguished even from the religious order, which has proved itself the apostle of the nations.

To fully understand the position of monasticism in the early ages of the Church it is necessary to draw a distinction between the Religious Orders, as now understood, and the Monastic Order. Both, indeed, set before themselves as an aim the realization of the Gospel counsels; both, too, have much in common as to principles, traditions, and usages. But while the former are societies, instituted at various periods in later ages to meet accidental needs of the Church, taking up the religious life as a means towards carrying out that special end, the latter is merely a systematized form of a life according to the Gospel counsels, existing, for its own sake, as a full expression of the Church's true and perfect life. From Antony and Pachomius it passed into the hands of the great lawgiver of Western monachism, St. Benedict, and assumed under him that final shape which adapts itself so marvellously to the requirements of each succeeding age, and knows no better reform than that of a return to the simple principles of his broad-minded monastic regulations.

This life, so simple yet so wide in its conception; this code, so discreet yet so firm; this "school of Divine service," so homely and yet so sublime in its teachings, is founded upon three chief elements—the vows, the cloister, and the Divine Office. By the first, the monk dedicates himself to aim at a life of perfection; by the second, he separates himself from actual contact with the world and all that might interfere with his renunciation of it, to unite himself to the family of his monastic home; and, by the third, in continual and united intercourse with his Creator in the choir service, he realizes that kingdom of God upon earth which is the visible form of the Christian revelation.

St. Benedict instituted three vows. The first, an what may be regarded as the note of St. Benedict' legislation for the monastic order, is *stability*. This i the key to the spirit of monasticism as interpreted i his rule, for by it the monastery is erected into a family to which the monk binds himself for ever; acting onl through it, sharing in all the joys and sorrows of it members, giving and receiving that help, comfort, an strength which come from mutual counsel, and the fre interchange of thoughts and desires, and watched ove by a superior, who is the father of his family.

The second is the vow of *conversion*, by which th monk solemnly renounces the three concupiscences, an binds himself to aim at the perfection of the evangelica counsels and a life of perfect charity. In so far as he i able to fulfil this by God's grace, he becomes the man o God, the perfect Christian.

Thirdly, the monk binds himself by a vow of *obedienc* to an entire subjection of his will to the command of hi superior, and to the observance of all those means o holiness supplied by the rule and its practices of labou and mortification.

The monastic ideal demands seclusion, and this no merely as a means of avoiding the temptations of th world. All great undertakings are matured in solitude It is not in the hurry and confusion and excitemen which accompany execution, but in the stillness an calm silence of preparation, that the strength whic does great deeds is accumulated and concentred. Th fury of destruction and the ravages of exterminatio may be the work of a moment, but the task of healin and of building up is a slow process, and a labour o time and silence. The monk undertakes a great wor in the calm and peace of solitude, that of following ou the counsels of perfection. The " workshop," where h makes use of " the instruments " by which this is to b achieved, is, says St. Benedict, " the enclosure of th

nonastery and stability in the community," and the olitude is not that of the hermit but the seclusion of the enobite, or monk living in common with others, which s the " fortissimum genus monachorum." Under such ircumstances, obedience, paternal care, discipline, raternal charity, and the calm privacy of family life, re so many guarantees for the monk's perseverance.

The central figure of this society was its Divine King. he monastery was a palace, a court, and the Divine)ffice was the daily service and formal homage rendered o the Divine Majesty. This, the *opus Dei*, was the rown of the whole structure of the monastic edifice. t was pre-eminently the work of the monk, which was o take precedence of every other employment, and to vhich monastic tradition has ever given a marked olemnity. Day by day, and almost hour by hour, the nonk, purified by his vows, enclosed from the world, eeks to renew the wonderful familiarity with his God nd Father, which our first parents forfeited, but which, hrough our second Adam, is restored in the Christian hurch. In a word, the Divine Office is the soul of the nonastic life.

Such, in brief, is the fundamental, the vivifying idea f the monastic life. From this point of view it is othing more than the Christian life of the Gospel ounsels conceived in its full simplicity and perfection. t has no determinate object in view beyond this; it as no special systems or methods. The broad law of hristian liberty is its only guide; it is neither strict or lax; it aims neither at too high things nor is it ontent with any low standard of conduct; but it dapts itself to the workings of grace in each individual oul, and gains its end when it has brought that indi-idual soul to the highest perfection of which its natural nd supernatural gifts render it capable.

Here then lies the distinction between the *Monastic* nd what we have called specifically the *Religious*

Orders, namely, that the latter have essentially some special work or aim, in view of which many of the observances of the monastic life, and some of its chief characteristics, have to give way altogether, or be forced to take a subordinate place. To this special work all must accommodate themselves, and of necessity it will demand special views, special systems of training, special spiritual and scientific methods, and in so far must interfere with the development of Christian sociai sanctity, which is the scope of monasticism.

It is that this specially fitted the Monastic Order for the work of national conversion which it effected in Europe. A religious of any kind has without doubt a special power in effecting conversions. Not only his state, and the special gifts of character which are the natural results of the training received to fit him for the religious life, but the mere fact of his being a religious has a power of impressing the mind of those to whom he addresses himself. There is, moreover, a power in united numbers altogether greater than that represented by the sum of the individual units. A corporation has its own weight of authority, and a religious who is attached to such a body acts with the authority and influence which naturally belongs to it.

The monks possess many characteristic qualities calculated to exercise a special influence over the minds and hearts of men. First, the monk is secluded from the world, and must be able to lead a life of silence. What a power does not this give him over the man of the world, who is perhaps the very slave of the little pleasures, the frivolous vanities, the busy interests, the all-engrossing ambitions which the monk leaves and ignores. The power to withdraw is a mark of strength and we worship strength in spite of ourselves. The man who can show himself perfectly independent of us at once places himself in a position of superiority, and the feeling of inferiority is the first step towards submission

Again, there is a simplicity about the true monastic haracter. One thoroughly imbued with that spirit has o end to serve save only the one. His looks, his ways, is speech, bear the impress of that large liberty of pirit which flows from a childlike obedience to the nspirations of the inner life. His tone marks the andour, open-heartedness, and consideration for others vhich are the result of habits formed by his family life. f he lacks calculating shrewdness, an art which the vorld affects but despises, by this his way is opened to he only sure road to the human heart. He who has von the heart of a nation may make its laws.

Further, the monk possesses the great secret of bsence. He does not intrude nor mar his work by over- resuming on his influence. In spiritual matters, more specially, little good and much harm is done by inter- ering between man and his conscience, and by fore- talling the workings of Divine grace. The monk, too, lwells in a world that has lasted long. By his traditions ie has learnt the Divine art of patience, and can wait n peace and faith for God's own time.

In the monastic order the action of the individual is unk in that of the corporate body of the community o which he belongs. It is thus not any single man's eculiar gifts or talents, but the united reputation of a body of unknown men which is the power brought by he monastic order to such a work as that of a people's onversion. Not the men who compose the monastic orporation, but the life they live, is the exciting and ttractive force. Individual members pass away, but he self-same life goes on, and the self-same influence ontinues to manifest itself on those brought within its phere.

History teaches us that the practical Romans effected he subjugation of countries to their empire, not so much y the force of arms as by means of the gradual influence f the " colonies " they planted among the conquered

races. These bodies of men were the real but unobserved conquerors of the world. They brought with them Roman laws and customs, Roman arts and civilization, and by living among the people induced them of their own accord to adopt the manners, the language, and name of their conquerors. If the bishops and clergy are the rulers and governors of the Church's empire, and the religious orders its armies and its garrisons, the work effected by the monastic order may not unaptly be compared to that of the Roman colonies. By the mere fact of settling among a people, and exhibiting to them the excellence and beauty of the Christian life, they won them insensibly to adopt the Christian creed and name, as by exhibiting the arts of peace in operation before the eyes of the uncultivated races of the Western world the monks taught them the value of a civilized life.

It has already been remarked that the monastery was a realization of the ideal of Christianity. It is the spirit of the perfect Gospel teaching, embodied in tangible and visible realities. As a man by his appearance, his features, nay, by his very presence, testifies in a certain degree to the spirit which is within him, so the very walls of a monastery should speak to the beholder and draw him within the circle of its influence. It has, moreover, a voice of its own, which speaks a language all can understand, and has a weight and authority unknown to mere individual speech. That voice is the Divine Office. In this external language of the monastic life the monk speaks, not only to his Creator, but to his fellow men as well. The perpetual round of prayer and praise is something more than an intercessory power. It, rightly understood, is the medium of intercourse between the monastic body and the people in the midst of which it dwells. No one is so dull that he cannot understand the faith in the unseen, the hope of another world, and the burning love of God which are manifested in the perennial sacrifice and song of praise of

ne monastic choir. Through the individual preaching f the monk, through his works, through his words of ounsel and of comfort, through his hospitality, through is dealings with his fellow-men in all the varied rela- ons of life, he exercises some portion of his apostolate; ut the choir of the monastery is the monk's real pulpit, nd the daily Office his most efficacious sermon.

One who was not called to the monastic life has said, It is in the cloister, and in the bosom of the sanctuary, here they passed their lives, that the monks have xercised the power of attraction which has drawn to hem almost the entire world. The whole Church has, n a manner, established itself upon the monastic order, raws from it its spirit of virtue, and comes to it to enew in men's souls the worship and respect due to od."

Such, in brief, are the general principles upon which he monastic order was founded and has flourished for o many centuries. The illustrious author of *The Monks f the West* has described in his graphic pages the lives nd works of many of the great men who, in virtue of he strength gained in the following out of these prin- iples, have rendered the greatest service to the civiliza- on, no less than to the religion, of the nations of Western Europe. The account he presents in his pages f the power and influence of monachism in the West, ithout pretending to be a systematic and scientific istory, is perhaps even on that account more useful to nable the ordinary reader to acquaint himself with hat interesting story. Modern research and criticism ould have caused the Count de Montalembert, had he ow been revising his great work, sometimes to modify, r indeed in some few instances to rectify, the con- lusions to which his studies at that time led him. But h the main the carefully drawn and life-like picture ould still stand as his mind's eye saw it, and his aster-hand sketched it, thirty years ago.

It has been before noted that the monastic orde existed in the early ages of the Church with the sol end of carrying out the counsels of the Gospel. Thi unity of object resulted in an essential unity, althoug in practice different monastic bodies followed out thi end by the observance of a multiplicity of rules. T make this original position of Western monasticisi clear, it is necessary to consider the matter somewha more fully. Mabillon states that the end of the monasti state was always considered to be in brief the persona sanctification of the individual, intercessory prayer fo the wants of others, and, when charity or some speci necessity required, works undertaken for the good o the Christian commonwealth. In the time of St. Jerom and St. Augustine the monastic life was well recognize as an integral part of the Church's system. Not onl was there no established code or rule to which all wh desired to be monks were bound to conform themselve but it was well understood that an individual migh pass from this or that house to any other in which th monastic life was being led. In other words, the actua rule as a disciplinary code was altogether subordinate to the end, and this rule and method of life depended i great measure upon the will of the ruler of the monastery Hence in many places one rule gave place to another ac cording as circumstances changed, and not infrequentl in one and the same place two or more rules were combine together; thus, according to St. Gregory of Tours, i the monastery of Ainay, they "followed the rules o St. Basil, Cassian, Cæsarius, and other Fathers, takin and using, that is, what seemed proper to the condition of time and place."

In this respect, strange as it may seem, in days whe our conceptions of conventual life are established upo ideas drawn from the example of modern religiou institutes, the introduction of the Benedictine rule wa never intended to divide off those who followed it fro

e rest of the monastic body. The clerical order in e Church was regarded as one, though subject in inor matters to different disciplinary regulations in fferent parts of the Church. The canons of councils ere for the clerical body what monastic rules were for onks. In the same way the monks of the West were e body, though following different rules, and there s no thought of the followers of St. Benedict forming exclusive congregation or order, in the modern nification of those words. For the better carrying out his ideal St. Benedict drew up a code of laws, charac-ized by a wide and wise discretion. To secure the l more certainly, those who desired to walk in the th of the Gospel counsels under his guidance, promised ife-long obedience. It was the first introduction of a rofession " for life, " according to the rule "; and was known to the monk who " wished to fight under law," that, as the rule says, " from that day it was lawful for him to withdraw his neck from the yoke the rule." The result of this introduction was two-l: on the one hand, it established firmly the per-uity of the family life, that " stability in the mmunity " which has since become the characteristic rk of monasticism; and on the other, for the only l of the abbot or superior it substituted a code of s by which his government was to be guided. Never-less the rule itself shows that, though St. Benedict uired obedience to his code of regulations, he never nded to forbid other customs and practices. In fact, expressly refers his followers to the rule of St. Basil others for further guidance. In the seventh and nth centuries monks were not known as exclusive owers of Benedict, or Caesarius, or Columban, but as mbers of the monastic order; and St. Benedict's itself is not called the rule of this or that monastery, the *Regula Monachorum*—the rule of monks. And ough, in accordance with the monastic spirit, many

a practice survived and many an observance w retained, which would be sought for in vain in the r of St. Benedict, this came in fact to be the only rec nized code whereby the life of every monastery in West was ruled. Any one who will read the rule of Columban or St. Caesarius will fully understand h this came to pass. The former is marked by rigid a terity in silence, in food, and in every kind of exter mortification. The simplicity of its fundamental c ception cannot be exceeded. It may be resumed in sentence, " that a man may always depend on the w of another " (Cap. ix): a principle sound indeed itself, but still to pass from the influence of St. Columb to that of St. Benedict was a transition from the certain and the vague to the reign of law. In fa neither the code of St. Caesarius nor that of St. Columb is really a rule of life at all, the whole direction depend upon a discretion which might or might not be wis exercised. That St. Benedict's legislation should h superseded all others was in the very nature of thi inevitable. The difference of tone and form between rule and that of others is unmistakable; and, how deep and intense the piety which breathes in the *Re Coenobialis* which goes under the name of St. Columb it is a relief to pass from its crude expositions of mona discipline to the grave and noble laws of the Ro monk. Under these circumstances it is not wonde that by the end of the eighth century, not merely St. Benedict's rule superseded all others, but in Fra the very memory of any other code had so comple perished that it could be gravely doubted whe monks of any kind had existed before the time of great monastic legislator, and whether there coul any other monks but Benedictines.

But it is necessary again to emphasize the fact even here the spirit of exclusivism—that very nega of the whole Benedictine spirit—had no place. It failure to recognize this truth which has, for exam

l many writers astray on the question of the rule llowed at Jarrow and Wearmouth. They read that . Benet Biscop collected the customs of seventeen onasteries, and argue that he must have composed a le for his houses out of all these. Those who realize e Benedictine spirit and practice will understand that is selection of the customs of other monasteries is in way inconsistent with the full observance of the rule St. Benedict, and they will have no difficulty in ling what that "rule" is which St. Bede himself eded to designate by no more definite term than *The le*. Those not versed in these matters will perhaps e the authority of Alcuin, who was an intimate end of the monks of Jarrow and Wearmouth, and o from residence there was perfectly competent to ak on the matter. After exhorting them to keep h the utmost diligence "the observance of regular " which the "holy Fathers Benet and Ceolfrid ablished among you," he continues: "And let the e of St. Benedict be often read in the gatherings of brethren, and let it be explained in the native gue, so that it may be understood by all. According the instruction of which let every one correct his own , so that what you have vowed to God before the ar may be inviolably kept."

The rule of St. Benedict having been commonly ognized as the code for all monks throughout the st, it was inevitable that some sort of union between nasteries should come into existence. Each monastic ily according to the rule is a separate unit, wholly inct, and with an independent life of its own. These ts were brought together in the great assembly of -la-Chapelle, in A.D. 817, which, under the guidance St. Benedict of Aniane, passed a number of rules for better regulation of monastic life.* This assembly

I have great difficulty in thinking that the document printed ligne, T. 99, col. 739 *seq.*, is correctly attributed to St. Simpert, op of Augsburg. That it proceeds from one who was both

was no sudden resolution, but had long been designe
It is noteworthy that the idea of this gathering did n
spring from the minds of men of Frankish race, nor fr
the ranks of those English strangers who for a centu
had played so great a part in the evangelization a
civilization of the German races, and who in the c
Christian land of the Franks had raised ecclesiasti
life from the degradation into which it had sunk.
was not that these men did not understand the val
of organization, for it was an instrument they had us
for laying the foundations of the Christian Church
Central Europe. It was not that as monks they w
actuated by any small or grudging spirit, which impel
them to shut themselves up within the narrow cir
of their own inherited traditions. They themselves w
to seek in the monasteries of Italy for observance lik
to benefit them and supplement their own practi
they were ready, under conditions, to use the help
those with whom they could have had little natu
sympathy, as is evidenced by Alcuin making use of
Benedict of Aniane for Cormery. They were essentia
practical men, and unquestionably their action m
effectually prepared the way for the meeting at A
But the assembly itself was designed by men actua
by a wholly different spirit—men who, in the reign
Charlemagne, had been kept in due subordination
that great ruler, and who had been employed by h
with discretion, but who, under his worthy but we
minded son, Lewis the Pious, became masters of
situation, and in the intrigues of the court held in th
hands all the reins of power. These were the Goths
Aquitaine, a gifted race, but not capable, as the re
of Lewis shows, of supporting the weight of empire

bishop and abbot is certain; but it seems no less certain tha
title and its attribution date only from the year 1550. It suits
fectly the spirit of the time from 814 to 816, but not, as it se
to me, 802, for instance.

The prime agent, so far as the monastic movement of
e time is concerned, was Benedict of Aniane, a man
ose influence may be traced in the whole subsequent
tory of the Benedictine Order. Just as he was alien
race from the dominant Franks, so also he differed
m the Anglo-Saxon in that, though schooled in a
nedictine monastery, he still regarded the rule of St.
nedict with something of impatient contempt, as not
ficiently rigid and austere. Time and experience,
wever, without changing his nature or effacing the
racteristic traits of his race, brought him a more
pered and balanced judgement, and to this he was
ped by the very breadth of St. Benedict's own
ception of the monastic life.

Benedict of Aniane early initiated on a small scale
his native land the scheme which he fully matured
later years. He was appointed by Lewis Visitor-
neral of the monasteries in the kingdom of Aquitaine.
tory does not record in detail the steps he took to
ther his designs, nor the measure of his success; but
the death of Charlemagne in A.D. 814, and the
cession of Lewis to the Empire, he was placed in a
ition to carry his plans into execution. He was
ady past middle life, and no time was lost. The rapid-
with which events succeeded one another shows that
whole scheme was already matured. Benedict had
plete influence over the mind of the new Emperor,
there was no one whose word was so weighty in all
irs as that of the monk. Suitors of every grade,
ular as well as ecclesiastical, came to understand that
r request was granted if they could but win the
d word of Benedict. Beyond, possibly, securing
er for men of his own Gothic race, Benedict forebore
se his influence for furthering any policy of state,
gave his attention to plans upon which he had
ady set his heart for a monastic revival.

ot far from the imperial palace at Aix there rose

as by enchantment, in the course of a year or two, th
monastery which Lewis built for his monk, Benedic
Here, as example is better than precept, were to b
gathered the choicest spirits amongst his friends, an
its thirty monks, with their abbot, were to form th
model monastery upon which the numerous ancien
houses scattered through the broad dominions of th
Carolingian Empire were to reconstitute their line
Hither might stranger monks come at the bidding
their abbots to inform themselves of the observances
Inde, and carry them back for adoption in their ow
houses.

Benedict's ideas were perfectly clear and definit
Every monastery and every monk in all his master
realms was to be like to himself and his. He aimed at
cast-iron system of uniformity, and herein lies th
essential antagonism of spirit between Benedict
Aniane and the great Benedict.

The Assembly of 817 must certainly have been one
the most remarkable of the numerous gatherings in th
hey-day of the Carolingian Empire. Already, in 816,
great meeting had settled, with all the weight of imperi
authority, the rule of life for the secular clergy, an
especially for those living in common. The meeting
the abbots and monks was attended with every pom
and circumstance calculated to impress the imaginatio
At this general assembly of his people, Lewis associat
with himself in his Empire his first-born, Lothair, a
crowned him Emperor, whilst he declared his two oth
sons kings of Aquitaine and Bavaria, carrying out th
division of the Empire which was to be afterwards t
source of such distress and fatal discord. From the
matters of high estate Lewis passed at once to the gre
concern of his favourite Benedict, and the issue of t
meeting of the 10th July 817 is recorded in a series
resolutions, which touch the whole range of the monas
life. Benedict's object was to secure that all monaster

ould be reduced to such a uniformity in all things that might seem as though "all had been taught by one gle master in one single spot." There was designed be uniformity in the quantity of food and drink, iformity in the time of rising and going to rest, iformity in their church services and their choir remonies, uniformity in the length and cut of the bit; in a word, absolute uniformity in everything.

It is clear from the documents that exist that Benedict as able to obtain assent to some only of the points of servance on which he had set his heart. Many he was liged to give up, to secure, as his biographer and mirer says, "any common unity, and out of con-leration for the weaknesses of others." What was reed upon, however, was to be observed strictly. But e means taken to secure this were certainly not such would have recommended themselves to the advisers d friends of Lewis's father, the great Charles, and ey must have been the outcome of the counsels of nedict himself, and of the people of his race, who were w supreme at court. By the imperial orders inspectors ere to be placed in every monastery to see whether hat had been ordered was in fact observed, and to ain those who were ignorant of the new mode of e.

Such were the plans of Benedict, but they passed like summer's dream. His scheme of a rigid uniformity nong the monasteries of the Empire, secured by the ppointment of himself as General, aided by an agent r inspector in each house—an idea wholly alien to the ost elementary conception of Benedictine life—met ith the fate it deserved. But in the customs thus nposed upon the monasteries by Lewis the Pious there as much that was very generally recognized as good nd helpful, and adopted even beyond the confines of is Empire. It was instinctively felt that some code upplementary to the rule was needed, and in these

capitula of Aix may be recognized a draft of what a
now called *constitutions*, declaratory of the rule.

It is not to be supposed, because Benedict of Anian
died before his hopes had been realized, and because h
plans for monastic management were rendered im
possible by the later confusions of Lewis's reign, tha
therefore his action produced no effect. On the contrar
it sent a thrill of life through the monastic system
the Empire. Everywhere it awoke a desire to rise
the requirement of the time, to aim at the best possib
realization of the duties of the monastic state, and th
naturally produced effects visible beyond the sphere
religion. It is, perhaps, too readily assumed, becaus
such vast progress, especially in the revival of letter
was made in the reign of Charlemagne, that, therefor
the whole work was done. Far from it: the masters an
the pupils in the great central schools could then mani
pulate their Latin and write with a correctness whic
indicates an astonishing progress from the state
things fifty years before; but the great bulk of th
manuscripts of even the later years of Charlemagne sho
that the ancient barbarisms had not disappeared, an
that the ninth century, so generally regarded as an ag
of ruin and decay, was in truth, so far as letters a
concerned, a time of continued progress. In that perio
a general level was attained which in Charlemagne
time could be reached only by the masters of learning
And if this be so, it is due to the activity generall
prevailing in the monastic schools, an activity which,
in itself no certain criterion of excellence in discipline
at least raises the presumption that those amongs
whom it prevailed were not altogether lost in spiritua
torpor, but were animated with something of tha
heavenly fire of charity which must overflow in benefit
to others.

In our own country of England we find the nex
movement in monastic government. It has bee

ssumed, without sufficient consideration and know-
edge, that the monastic life was practically extinct in
England in the early days of the tenth century, surviving
nly in a few old men, who mumbled their matins in
Glastonbury, and that the Benedictine rule was imported
fresh—a foreign exotic—all complete from Fleury or
rom Ghent, whether by Dunstan or Odo, Ethelwold
r Oswald, it matters not. History teaches us that the
nonastic revival in England at this period was essentially
English in its origins and characteristics. If in the
arge-minded spirit of St. Benedict men went to learn
he customs of Ghent and of Fleury, their mission did
ot take place till the close of those ten silent years
Dunstan passed as abbot of Glastonbury, removed from
ll secular cares, and building up the spiritual edifice of
is religious life. It was not until he had made his own
rial and experience, and had formed men of his own
ith and kin, and was thus ready to prove and approve,
o accept and assimilate, or put aside as unfit for men
f his race, what foreign monastic life could show, that
e trusted his monks on their mission abroad.

After five and twenty years of practice, when the
mes were favourable in every sense, and Dunstan
imself held the see of Canterbury, St. Ethelwold
rought forth that "monastic *Concordia Regularis* of
ne English nation," which described and prescribed
ne customary use for the whole of England. The
eynote of the *Concordia* is an intense spirit of nation-
lity. This was only to be expected, in view of the
olitical circumstances of a time when the land exulted
n the reign of "Edgar the Glorious," "governor,"
ruler," "king," "monarch," "basileus" of the whole
f this isle of Albion, assisted by "his band of heroes."
ut here, too, it would be a mistake to imagine that any
arrow spirit of exclusivism would be allowed. The
hole ecclesiastical life of the nation was to be regener-
ted by inspirations largely drawn from the great days

of the renewed Western Empire, from the legislation of Charlemagne, and of the early days of Lewis the Pious. It was no mere copy, but a thorough assimilation of what might wisely and safely be adopted by the advisers of Edgar. It is in this way that, joined to the English *Concordia Regularis*, are so often found the Capitula of Aix, which were the outcome of the influence of Benedict of Aniane.

With the details of the legislation found in the *Concordia* we have no concern, and attention need be directed only to one point. Twice in the course of the short Preface or Prologue it justly mentions the quality of discretion as having presided at its compilation, and it was ordained that in future nothing whatever should be added to it except by common consent. The document itself is not concerned with any scheme of government; it is taken for granted that this was on normal lines, and no provision is made for any centralized organization or general meetings. But, for all that, it was not a document thrown out to take its chance; quite the contrary. Though no scheme of government was propounded, a practical measure was provided for in the mind of its originator, St. Ethelwold. He conceived in reality much the same plan as did St. Benedict of Aniane; the pivot on which he would make the whole machinery of government turn was the king. The election of all abbots and abbesses, although conducted in accordance with the teaching of the rules required the royal assent. This measure was dictated by the desire to free the monasteries from the interference of local magnates; but the superiors were directed to address the king and queen in all their needs and to come to the court in person. This prominence of the king is emphasized in many ways throughout the whole *Concordia*.

Ethelwold's idea seems to have been this: that agreement on constitutions once secured there was no

need for further or formal meetings, because the authority of the king could be invoked at all points, and direct recourse had to him, whilst he, Ethelwold, was himself at the king's side, his perpetual counsellor and confidant, and ready to see that all was rightly done. But the saint, even from his own point of view, failed to take into account the uncertain chances of human life. Almost immediately a stroke of Providence removed Edgar, and in the troubles that followed the whole machinery as he had planned it broke down.

Here, again, though his attempt failed, the work accomplished was in reality great. Each monastery was once more thrown back on its own resources, but with a definite idea to aim at, and efforts were concentrated on work at home, with what results for the public benefit, no less than for their own discipline, the outcome of the school of Winchester alone is direct evidence.

But it was not in England only that the movement set on foot by the master-spirit Dunstan, and formulated in the provisions of the *Concordia Regularis*, exercised its influence. In the last years of the century there proceeded from Einsiedeln a powerful reform, which put a new life into many monasteries of Southern Germany, but the importance of which has been obscured by the much later Hirschau imitation of Cluny. The curious conformity of the Einsiedeln statutes at the end of the tenth century with the English *Concordia* was long ago noticed. The resemblance is not accidental; in the second half of that century Einsiedeln was ruled by an English stranger, Gregory, who by the votes of his brethren was placed in the abbatial chair. Is it too much to imagine that Gregory had learnt in England, before the *Concordia* was drawn up, the traditional practices of the monasteries of his native land?

The English movement initiated by Dunstan is only one of many which proved the vitality of the monastic

idea in the West. Everywhere abroad during the tenth century the same phenomenon of new life, springing up from many centres, presents itself. These manifestations are so numerous, and there is so much action and interaction, that it is impossible in a mere sketch like this to give even a bare outline. In Western France, in Burgundy, in Lorraine, in Western Germany and Central Italy, the forms were varied, and in details the movements varied still more, but all witnessed the soundness of that instinct which led St. Benedict, having set men in the right road, to trust to their innate desire for the good and the right to lead them along the path of the Gospel counsels, rather than to impel them by superfluous external machinery. There is, however, one exception—in some respects the greatest name in all monastic history—Cluny. This demands special notice as a fresh starting-point, and as the practical introduction of a new idea in monastic government. It is not necessary to consider here how or under what circumstances the system was developed. The ideal of Cluny was the existence of one great central monastery with dependencies, even by the hundred, spread over many lands, and forming a vast feudal hierarchy. The subordinate monasteries were dependents in the strictest sense. The superior of every house, however great—as, for example, the priory of Lewes—was the nominee of the abbot of Cluny; the profession of every member even in remote England or Spain was made in the name and with the sanction of the abbot of Cluny. It was a mighty dream, and the realization of it was fully equal to the conception. The abbot of Cluny was the general of an army in the strictest subordination to its chief; and it must be said that for the first two centuries the abbots form a dynasty worthy of so lofty a position, so vast a power.

The name of this great house has exercised over some minds a singular fascination, and many are led to

attribute to it an influence which it did not in fact exercise, and assign to it men whom it did not form. Still, after all possible deductions have been made, Cluny remains one of the chief factors in the history of the eleventh century. But all its glory and all its greatness must not blind us to the weakness inherent in the system, a weakness precisely consequent on its deflection from the mere simplicity of St. Benedict's ideas. It is clear, in the first place, that the Cluny system of dependencies cut at the root of the family life, without which (except under extraordinary safeguards) the Benedictine life cannot permanently maintain itself. The house of Cluny was more than a mere centre of a vast system; it was the very mainspring of its life, and source of all its government, and if that spring were broken, or even weakened, there was no chance of renewal. Moreover, the greatness of Cluny was kept up in a fictitious way, and if for a time the means adopted sustained the great edifice, it only resulted in more complete ruin when the collapse came. If there is one point in monastic government about which St. Benedict legislates clearly it is that the abbot should be the elect of the monks. Cluny, whether intentionally or unintentionally, adopted methods whereby practically the ruling abbot could secure the nomination of his successor. Not that the choice actually made did not perhaps result in the general good of the house, for in truth it was the great qualities of the abbots of Cluny which kept up the system so long. But the glory of Cluny was secured at the expense of the solidity of its inner life, and herein lies the explanation of the fact that when Cluny fell, it fell suddenly and from the highest point of its exterior glory. Resting, as this highly centralized system had come to do, on the one person of its abbot, when the crash came it was found that its life had gone beyond the power of recuperation. As a community Cluny was dead. If a

great institution could be saved by a single man, tha man certainly was Peter the Venerable, whose char acter is one of the most beautiful in the whole range o monastic history; but having admitted false principle of government, not consonant with the ideas of St Benedict, the Cluniacs became the victims of their own creation.

It is possible to see early in its history the rock upo which the great institution split. It was only a questio of time when the spirit, indicated by the claim to th title *abbas abbatum*, would degenerate into a kee appreciation of dignities and distinctions, of exemption and privileges, and would find therein a satisfactio which no formal renunciation of the world could rende monastic. Excellent as may have been the intentio of those who first sought for Cluny and all its depen dencies freedom from episcopal interference, not th less is it certain that herein lay the element of a dange for the monastic order. By such an emancipation i sought to constitute itself a body corporate, distinc and apart, instead of forming, as the monastic orde on the lines of St. Benedict was intended to do, a element in the full life of the Christian Church. Th chances of a renewal of vigour springing up in, an radiating from, a dozen different centres were gon under the Cluniac system of a complete centralizatio It was in vain that Peter the Venerable called roun him to a chapter priors who might be numbered by th hundred; in vain were new statutes promulgated b the *capituli universalis assensu*; in vain that all thi legislation is declared to be according " to the counse of brethren wise and fearing God," and not by the mer will of the abbot-general. By the very system of Clun the priors were but the shadows of the abbot, and n house, not even the greatest monastery, had an inherent principle of life, but was doomed to follow th fate of its centre.

It was but natural that a reaction should set in when men's eyes were opened to what really stood behind those glories of Cluny, so conspicious during the lifetime of St. Hugh. The revulsion manifested itself outwardly in the rise of many orders, whether of monks or of canons regular, about this time. People longed for something more simple—for a life disburdened from the excessive pomp and circumstance which had grown up round Cluny. It was instinctively felt that there was a danger of lapsing into mere formalism, and it is in some such explanation as this, rather than in that of their being a protest against any grave relaxation of the monastic life, that we must understand the rise of the Cistercians. It was by no mere accident that Peter the Venerable and St. Bernard found themselves in antagonism. What immediately concerns us here is the question of government, and strange as it may appear on this point, Citeaux only brought to full development the germ already implanted in the system of Cluny. Practically the Cluniac system of government constituted it an Order, but by the method of establishing one scattered family. Citeaux for the first time struck out a new line, which carried it farther from St. Benedict's idea. Whilst preserving the notion of each monastery as a family, endowed with the principle of fecundity, it formed itself into an Order in the modern sense of an organized corporation.

The basis of the Cistercian system lies in the perpetual pre-eminence of the abbot and house of Citeaux, combined with the yearly assembly in that monastery of all the abbots of the " order." The end to be attained by this highly centralized system is put forward by its originator, St. Stephen Harding, an Englishman who at an early age had left his own country and never returned thither. In the plainest terms he states his intention. " Now we will and we order," he say, " all monks in the confederation to observe the rule of St. Benedict in all

things as it is observed in the New Monastery—that is to induce no other meaning into their reading of the Holy Rule but what the holy fathers, our predecessors (that is, the monks of the New Monastery), have understood and held." Accordingly, as a natural consequence, "We also will that they abide by the customs and the chant, and have all the books for office and mass, according to the form of the customs and the books of the New Monastery." Absolute uniformity was a natural corollary of such a form of government, and this was secured, besides the annual meeting of abbots by an annual visitation of every monastery. To the abbot of Citeaux was secured a right of visiting any and every monastery at will; but it was provided that he was not to interfere with the temporalities and the ordinary business of any house against the wish of its abbot and brethren, although in enforcing discipline he was absolute. This, so far, at least recognized the individuality of each monastery as is contemplated by St. Benedict.

Looking at the document upon which the Cistercian system was founded, the *Carta Caritatis*, its main design as a system of government was to safeguard by every possible means the "New Monastery" (that is, Citeaux) and its abbot. It is true that the abbot of any monastery which had founded another retained always certain rights and duties in regard to the daughter-house, and that to the four great daughter-houses of Citeaux were secured certain special rights and privileges which gave them apparantly a commanding position, and made the semblance of a hierarchical organization. Yet the pre-dominant position of Citeaux is carefully secured—on the one hand, by the provision that there should be no chapter or other official meeting of abbots except the one general chapter, to be held always at Citeaux; and on the other, by the declaration that in case of dissent in this chapter the decision absolutely lay with the

bbot of Cîteaux and those who, siding with him, appear
be of the *sanior pars*.

It is obvious that in a system established on the lines
the "Charter of Charity" everything must depend
the centre. This the composer of the document
idently felt to be the weak point of the system, and
it he devoted the last sections of the document. As
e read them, notwithstanding the brandishing of the
ord of excommunication over the abbot and convent
Cîteaux in the last resort, it is impossible not to feel
eir practical futility. Events subsequently showed
at this was so; and the proof lies in the history of
e Order itself. The Bernardines of Italy and the
uillants of France could only come into existence and
eathe freely by tearing up the Charter of Charity.
the very organization of the system, that which long
nturies of Benedictine history has shown to be a
rtainty—the spontaneous springing up of renewed
e and energy, sometimes even in the most unexpected
arters, and the power of free development—was
ndered impossible.

Moreover, in one particular the Charter of Charity
es utterance to an idea clearly alien to the mind of
Benedict. The expression "our Order" occurs again
l again in this short document, no longer in the sense
a method of life common to every monastery, but of a
poration excluding all not distinctly on its own lines.
th Cîteaux the Religious Order, in its modern
nification, appears fully developed, and it was but
ther step in the same direction to the system of the
ndicants in the thirteenth century.

The rush of Cistercian development in Western
rope, and the manifest decline of Cluny influence, are
culated to arrest the attention, and in so far perhaps
conceal from us the fullness of activity which in
lity characterized the monastic order generally in the
lfth century. It is useless to burden these pages

with any list of centres of monastic action at th
period, which are to be found also in remote Scotlar
and Scandinavia, Poland and Hungary, and the atte
tion of the reader is directed here merely to the ma
currents of Benedictine life. It must be borne in mi
that the adoption of Cluny customs by no mea
necessarily implied any adoption of its spirit, and t
real and most lasting good effected by Cluny for t
monastic order generally was that it undoubtedly se
a current of renewed life through the entire syste
This manifested itself in many new beginnings, a
reconstitutions of older foundations, which, however,
themselves, when closely examined, seem to be in f
reactions against the method and tendency of Clun
centralization. At Camaldoli and Monte Vergine
Italy, as at Grandmont or the Chartreuse in France,
inclination was towards a more secluded and eremiti
life, whilst at Vallombrosa there was a closer imitat
of Cluny on a small scale. The abbot of Vallombro
as head of the congregation—the elect, by the w
of the superiors of the few monasteries which formed
and not of his community—was possessed of the gen
regimen of the entire union, every house of which
thus in strict subordination to the central author
In process of time, however, the natural tendency c
powerful head to seek further power and position at
expense of the members showed itself in secu
perpetuity for the abbot of Vallombrosa as an irrem
able abbot-general, and in the reduction of the super
of the other houses to the position of nominees c
yearly general chapter; whilst yet another step in
same direction was taken by a provision requiring
assent of the abbot-general for the reception of
subjects of the Congregation.

In Germany, also, Hirschau set before itself Clun
a model, and by its measure of success powerfully ai
in the restoration and foundation of many mona

entres. But, be the cause what it may, the abbot of Hirschau certainly failed to create for himself a position f pre-eminence and sole dominion, such as had been hat of the abbots of Cluny. [In Western France the ractical reaction against the Cluniac spirit was chiefly hanifested by houses like Bec and Tiron, which, whilst haintaining an excellent observance, and whilst ready o communicate the secrets of good discipline and uccess to their neighbours, left their special customs o make their way by virtue of their own intrinsic herits. Great were the results achieved by their fluence, even in distant lands.]

Indeed, among the Black Benedictines generally there as a conscious recoil from the Cluniac system in the rst half of the twelfth century, manifesting itself by the troduction of a form of union consonant with the pirit of St. Benedict. The abbots of a number of onasteries in what is now Belgium and Northern rance met together in chapter for mutual counsel and pport, and resolved to introduce into their houses rtain changes in regard to observance and choral ties. The chapters were to be annual, but no provision ppears to have been made for mutual visitations, hich in most cases, of course, remained entirely in the nds of the bishops. It is probable that the intention promote capitular meetings was fully carried out, ough the actual notices of such assemblies are scanty. or was this the only example of chapters of this kind. few years later the abbots of Saxony assembled to scuss and settle matters of monastic life and discipline, d later still those of the ecclesiastical province of uen. It is to be observed that these are spontaneous vements, coming from the monasteries themselves, d not imposed by external authority, and they arly indicate a feeling that some such change was nted to meet the needs and requirements of the day. e importance of the movement, however, does not lie

in the particular results immediately obtained, but the fact that they were the prelude to the system which the Church in a General Council has given h sanction, for safeguarding the monastic life.

In the Fourth Lateran Council, held under Innoce III, in 1215, the following directions were given holding everywhere national or provincial chapters the Black monks. After speaking of the rights of t diocesan bishops, the twelfth Canon directs that eve three years, in each province or kingdom, a chapter abbots and conventual priors should be held in so conveniently situated monastery. They are advis whilst unacquainted with the method of holding su meetings, to invite two Cistercian abbots of the neig bourhood to give them counsel and help in matters procedure. For, as the Canon says, "the Cisterci have long been accustomed to the way of holding su chapters." These two White abbots were to associ with themselves two Benedictine monks, and the f were to preside at the first meeting. It was, howev expressly provided that none of these presidents sho take to himself any authority of a superior, so that t could be changed if it seemed convenient. The busin of the meeting was to treat of the improvement regular observance; and whatever was agreed up provided it met with the approval of the preside was to be observed by all without appeal. Moreo in each chapter certain prudent and religious men w to be nominated to visit, in the name of the Pope, ev Benedictine house of the province, to correct wh correction seemed necessary. If in these visitati they should find any abbot worthy of deposition, t were to denounce him to the bishop of the diocese, was to take the steps necessary for his removal, an the bishop would not act they were to refer the cas the Holy See. The bishop was further to see that monasteries in his diocese were in good order, "so

hen the aforesaid visitors come there, they may find hem worthy rather of commendation than correction; eing, however, careful not to make his visitations a urden or expense, so that the rights of superiors be naintained without injury to the subjects."

By these provisions, it is obvious, a double security as provided for the well-being of the monasteries. The ishops were still maintained in the position they had lways occupied as visitors, and as judges where the onduct of the superior might give occasion to the ravest censures. At the same time, by providing that ne monasteries should also be visited every three years y monks chosen by the provincial chapters, but acting delegates of the Holy See, any failure of the bishop fulfil his duty as diocesan, or any incapacity to under-and the practical working of the monastic life, would ceive the necessary corrective.

The system sketched out in the Council of the Lateran tisfied a need long felt as the outcome of practical perience. It was but the outline of a scheme the tails of which had to be supplied in the working; but is had its advantages, inasmuch as it enabled the onks of different countries to adopt measures suitable their own people and circumstances. If worked with od will, whilst preserving to each monastery the cient Benedictine principle of family autonomy, it s calculated to afford the valuable aids of co-operation d the security of mutual support. It may be said t the English Benedictine monks, and they alone, ve the system a fair trial. At the outset they set mselves to overcome difficulties, and allowed prac-al experience to point out the way by which deficien-s might be made good. England at the time, just er the death of King John, with the French invasion, l the whole country in a turmoil, was hardly the land which, it might be thought, such an experiment could tried with much promise of success. Still, within

three years after the Lateran Council, the first chapt
had been already held (1218), and those assembled h
even then come to feel that there was a real danger
making grave blunders. Without promulgating th
decrees, they met again the next year at St. Albans
rectify their mistakes, but still they refrained fr
publishing any statutes, leaving time for further c
liberation and experience to make sure of their grou
so as not to commit themselves to directions wh
could not in practice be observed. It was consequen
not until 1225 that the *Statuta* of the first chapters w
issued, and the appointment of the visitors shows t
the plan of general chapters ordered by the Council l
been reduced to a practical system.

In England, in curious distinction from the rest
Europe, the scheme, once set well on foot, was ma
tained with regularity to the end. It was in this s
ported by the tenacious adherence to the old relat
subsisting between the monastery and the bishop
the diocese, as was intended by the provisions of
Lateran. For, although five of the abbeys of Engl
claimed exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, the
of the Benedictine houses in the land, without except
including some of the greatest and most weal
monasteries of Christendom, were not so exempt,
never thought of trying to withdraw themselves f
inclusion in the general law of the Church.

The system, complex as it may appear to the theo
in practice worked thoroughly well. In England, u
its influence, the monasteries maintained their pres
and secured in general good discipline. Of course t
were individual failures here and there, but the sys
so worked that they were inevitably brought to li
and the evil could be checked before the harm c
was irremediable. Every two or three generations
English monks reviewed their practice, and ada
themselves to changed circumstances, but history sl

that they never introduced, or indeed needed, any startling reforming principles. As a whole, they secured and retained to the last the respect of the Catholic people of England. Whilst the revenues of most of the great Benedictine houses abroad were appropriated by sovereigns, prelates, and nobles, in this country—although the English kings were not less needy nor less wilful, and the English nobles not more wealthy nor more self-denying than those of other lands—none of the abbeys fell into the hands of commendatory abbots until, as a single exception, Wolsey obtained possession of St. Albans. Even this monastery at the cardinal's death fell back for the last days of its existence into the hands of a regular abbot. The English nature is not more patient of all the small restrictions and restraints to which the common life of a monastery subjects the monk; yet to the last not a single English Benedictine house ever even thought of secularization. If this be so it is simply owing to the fact that the monasteries of England frankly accepted, and loyally carried out, the system proposed to them by the Lateran Council—a system wholly consonant with the spirit and tradition of the Benedictine Order.

This system of government was never changed in England, although modified and perfected in certain details. The famous Bull *Benedictina*, of 1336, found the English monks perfectly organized and prepared to carry out its provisions. In point of government it made no appreciable difference, although it was to them a summons to greater efficiency. The characteristic mark of all English Benedictine legislation, as seen in the statutes of chapters and in visitation injunctions, is common-sense and discretion. Nowhere are the English monks backward in stating their objection to measures, impracticable for the English, which were suggested for their acceptance, whilst they showed themselves perfectly ready to adopt changes which

were practical and workable. The details of this inte
esting story are at hand, but the limits of our pres
subject exclude any fuller description.

Turning to foreign countries, it is useless to attempt
gauge the results of the Lateran legislation, for th
simple reason that no country but England appears
have taken the Council seriously. There were, it is tru
efforts here and there, chapters held for a time, witho
apparent sequence or determined perseverance. Th
consequence was inevitable in times of intellectu
upheaval, of civil disturbance, and of constant
increasing luxury among ecclesiastics as well as layme
The wealth of the monasteries was tempting, and the
fell an easy prey to the great in Church and Stat
Kings, nobles, cardinals, and prelates obtained nomin
tions to abbeys, and absorbed revenues of houses
which they felt little interest, and which too often the
allowed to go to ruin. Vocations naturally fell off, an
communities were reduced to a mere handful, living on
pittance grudgingly doled out to them by the eccles
astics or laymen who claimed to be their commendato
abbots.

In France the great Cistercian movement seems
have exhausted the soil of those religious forces whi
might have turned men to a renewal of Benedictine li
Italy, no more than France, recognized the opportuni
afforded by the Council of Lateran for revivifying i
ancient abbeys; but, unlike France, it still possess
a reserve of monastic force which manifested itself
the institution of the Silvestrines, the Celestines, an
early in the fourteenth century, of the Olivetans. T
importance of these new institutes lies in the fact th
they gradually advanced towards that form of gover
ment which became most general among the Benedi
tines throughout Europe in the sixteenth, seventeent
and eighteenth centuries. They each mark steps
the development. The earliest, the Silvestrines, we

constituted with perpetual superiors under one head, the Prior of Monte Fano, who, as General, governed in conjunction with a chapter representative of the houses. The next in order of date, the Celestines, had a similar organization, except in one important point—the Superiors were not perpetual, and the head of the Institute was an abbot, but elected by general chapter for a term of three years only, and ineligible till after a period of nine years had elapsed.

The Olivetans mark the last stage. The monks were not professed for any particular monastery, but, like the friars, for the general body of the congregation. Officials were appointed by a small committee, nominated by the general chapter, and for short periods only, and the abbot-general was also visitor of the various monasteries, as well as "superior of superiors," his power being limited by various practical checks, and by the fact that his authority was for a very short period only. The system offered, as is evident, the strongest contrast to that of Cluny, the results of which were now patent to all the world; and under it the existence of commendatory superiors was practically impossible. It, moreover, destroyed any local attachment to a house, and broke up the family life, which is the central idea of St. Benedict's legislation; and further, it abolished also all perpetuity of office, and, taking from the monastic communities rights of election, it concentrated all real power in the hands of a small committee.

The great councils of the fifteenth century, the avowed object of which was "reform in head and members," occupied themselves seriously also with the condition of the monastic order. But already in many quarters, independently, the monks had busied themselves with that question, and had taken practical steps to renew their vigour. They thus afforded another example of their inherent power of spontaneous renewal

as distinct from exterior pressure, which from centur
to century has ever animated the Benedictines.

These movements took two distinct paths. One i
Italy, carrying out the lines already laid down by th
Olivetans, was initiated by the congregation of S
Justina of Padua, afterwards called the Cassinese, an
this formed later a model for the monks of France an
Spain. The second was confined to Germanic lands, an
of this the union of Bursfeld, which maintained th
traditional lines, may be taken as a type. It is necessar
briefly to sketch the early history of the institute of S
Justina of Padua. It owed its origin to the zeal of
noble Venetian, Ludovico Barbo, who had becom
commendatory abbot of the monastery of St. Justina
and who, subsequently embracing the monastic stat
determined to restore regular life in his monastery
For this purpose he was joined by a few members o
other religious bodies, including two Olivetan monk
Within the space of a few years, however, houses i
other parts of Italy desired to join him in his ventur
and in the year 1421 these monasteries, four in numbe
found themselves in a position to propose to the Pope
scheme of union. The chief points in the proposals thu
submitted and subsequently approved were the follow
ing: although professed in different monasteries, th
monks did not belong to any house by their professio
but to the general body of the congregation, and wer
to be esteemed as members of any house in which the
might happen for the time to be placed. Secondly
the most ample power was possessed by the annua
general chapter, which appointed four or more visitor
one of whom was to have the position of presiden
He was to transact all business concerning the gener
welfare of the union; but for everything the assent o
the other visitors was required, and he was bound t
direct himself according to the decrees and instructio
of the chapter. These officials consequently were me

deputies of the chapter, to which they were bound to render strict account of all their acts.

Ludovico Barbo himself at once saw that the inevitable issue of his system was that superiors must cease to be perpetual, and the elect of their convents. Consequently he at once resigned his position, and transferred the obedience of his monks to the visitors elected by the first general chapter of 1421. Within the next few years the three other houses also came to recognize that the principles of the system were inconsistent with superiors holding office in perpetuity, and withdrew from the union. St. Justina of Padua was thus left to follow out alone its system, which at the time some considered contrary to the Benedictine profession —an opinion which, in 1432, called forth a bull from Pope Eugenius IV, constituting the new congregation part of the order and rule of St. Benedict. In this document the provisions of the union were defined and approved. A small committee of the chapter had the appointment of all superiors and officials, and could dispose of all monastic property as they deemed best for the general interests of the body. In order to concentrate all authority within the congregation itself, appeals from the chapter decisions to the Holy See were expressly forbidden, and outside interference of every kind was thus guarded against.

The new congregation now busied itself in obtaining from the Popes extensive privileges, amongst the rest, that no monastery which joined the body could be held *in commendam*, nor any pension charged on the revenues of a house, even by the Pope himself. The leading idea of Ludovico Barbo was a desire to cut at the root of the vicious system of commendatory abbots, an evil which he saw entailed the ruin of the monastery and the collapse of all regular discipline, and which could be coped with only by some powerful organization; and in viewing the picture presented by a house like Polirone

in the first half of the sixteenth century, it is easy t understand the charm exercised by the life of thes monks on those who, like Pole, were admitted to thei intimacy. In less than a century the congregation o St. Justina of Padua, now under the title of the Cassines Congregation, embraced all the great Benedictine house of Italy.

In this system it is obvious that the monastery, a such, had no independent life or existence. All powe was gathered up into the hands of a small committee o eight or nine members, called *Definitors*, chosen by chapter, and who appointed the visitors and President to rule the congregation out of chapter. Everything from the appointment of the President even down to that of the cellarer of the smallest house, was in thei hands. The danger to the system, besides its departure from the Benedictine ideal, lay in this, that by the election and re-election of the same visitors and definitors all power could be kept in the hands of a small body of managers, and by this means, in practice, the very perpetuity would be brought about which the system had been devised to guard against. This, in fact, did happen, as we learn on the authority of Pope Leo X, who had been commendatory abbot of Monte Cassino, and as such had resigned his abbey to the congregation of St. Justina of Padua, with which, as he says, he had an intimate acquaintance. He prescribed as a remedy for the evil that no one should be re-elected for the highest offices of the congregation till after the lapse of a certain period. This legislation, however, was a few years later withdrawn by Pope Adrian VI at the instance of a powerful party in the congregation, and the internal history of the body from this time forward manifests a constant struggle between those who wished to revive the legislation of Leo X, and a small party who desired to retain the power in their hands. It seems clear that the hopes of maintaining the congrega-

tion in vigour and life lay with the former; as a fact, after nearly a century of strife, the latter obtained the victory.

It is unnecessary for the present purpose to dwell at any length on the French congregations of St. Vannes and St. Maur, which in the seventeenth century modelled their statutes on those of St. Justina. They really aim at the same object, though presenting in details points of direct contrast. Thus, among the Cassinese it is expressly prescribed that the President is not to be called General, and his powers are carefully restricted; but he and the Cassinese abbots generally, though not blessed, were allowed all the dignity and state of episcopal pontificalia. The "Superior-General" of the congregation of St. Maur, on the other hand, though possessing much real power, was strictly prohibited from using mitre, staff, or cross, and was dressed as the other monks.

The Spanish congregation deserves a somewhat more detailed notice. It was formed by the gradual union of the Benedictine houses in Spain to the royal monastery of Valladolid, which had been founded at the close of the fourteenth century, and had always maintained the highest reputation for regularity and observance. As this had been the centre of the union, the Superior of the house, elected by the votes of his community, long maintained pre-eminence, and took the title of General. As the number of monasteries linked together in the congregation increased, the office of Abbot-general was detached from the house of Valladolid, and became elective in the general chapter. The powers of this General were considerable, and he was the only ordinary visitor of the congregation; but in practice his action was controlled by three nominees of chapter, called definitors-judges, who formed a standing court of appeal from his decisions, and by the association with him of a secretary and a *socius* chosen for him by chapter, who

were always at his side. But the most importan difference between the congregation of Spain and Ital lay in the fact that the Spanish jealously maintaine the family system designed by St. Benedict as far a was possible under a scheme in which the superior were not perpetual, and were chosen by the genera chapter. Every monk made his profession for a hous to the family of which he belonged, and every hous maintained in all things its own independent life. Th abbots, although only elected for the space of fou years, were the real rulers of their monasteries, an nominated all their officials.

This Spanish congregation has a special interest fo English people, since the English monks who revive their order in the early days of the seventeenth centur consistently adopted the system of Spain in all point which characteristically distinguish that system fron that of the Cassinese, except the generalate.

The movement for renewal in Germany in the fifteent century took another direction. It attempted no novel ties, retaining perpetuity of superiors and profession fo the monastery: and in its most successful effort—th union of Bursfeld—really set itself, though tardily, t carry out the system prescribed by the general chapte of the Lateran and the Bull *Benedictina*, which had bee successfully worked in England from the first. It wa a union of independent monasteries joined together fo common purposes, and in particular for the maintenanc of regular discipline by means of periodical visitations Whilst preserving to each house the Benedictine prin ciple of autonomy, the Bursfeld Union yet secured fo all the help and strength derived from co-operation. I admitted, indeed, in some measure, the vicious principl of a "head monastery" in Bursfeld, but in practic this was neutralized by the singular discretion of th abbots. The political state of the country, and th jealousies of petty potentates, both secular and eccles

astical, interfered with the full success of this congregation, but in spite of all difficulties it achieved a great work, and showed, as England had done before, the wisdom of the Fathers of the Lateran and of Pope Benedict XII.

Other efforts at the same period in the south of Germany had less enduring effects. They too were greatly hampered by the condition of the Austrian lands in that age, and their methods and legislation betray a want of attention to the great principles of monasticism, which on the whole were firmly grasped by the Bursfeld union, and a concentration on the minutiae of the religious life, which in St. Benedict's idea were intended to vary according to circumstances. The religious revolution of the sixteenth century fell with fatal effect upon them, but happily in the revival of Catholic life in Germany the Benedictine monasteries shared in the general renewal, and issued in local congregations like the Swiss and Bavarian. If at the close of the last century they fell victims to the greed of secular potentates, it was not from interior weakness, for the communities were large, full of life and vigour, and exercising a beneficent influence in the districts in which they were placed; and if, after the storm of civil revolution passed, several were revived, it was due to the kindly and keen recollection of the benefits they had conferred on the people of the country.

In the ordinary course of human affairs the means whereby great and wide-reaching results are achieved is the concentrated effort of a directed organism. As the mind passes in review the action of the Monastic Order in the past centuries, it cannot but be struck by the fact that, whilst the Benedictines have indeed achieved a work which has left its enduring impress on the religious and social history of Europe, their history is specifically characterized by a want of definite organization.

The explanation of this apparent contradiction between great achievement and the neglect of that which human prudence would have dictated as necessary for attaining any great and permanent result is easy. St. Benedict grasped fully in things divine the law of contradiction, which is the surest basis of the Christian life and effort—a law which lies on the surface of the Gospel story, and is confirmed by the deeper considerations which are rooted in the Gospel teaching. It issued in the contradiction of the Cross, and found its expression in such words of our Lord as, "He that shall lose his life for My sake shall find it." The results achieved by the Monastic Order have not been obtained by the exercise of power, but of influence. Their action upon society was that of the personal influence of the family, not that of the impersonal agency of the State.

The history of a religious order is the practical manifestation of the spirit and mind of the founder. It is an integral part of his life. There can be no doubt that at a certain period some idea of an organized body suggested itself to the mind of St. Benedict; but with mature experience and an ever-growing insight into divine things he relinquished the government of his many monasteries to confine himself to the care of the single family of Monte Cassino. Nor can it be said that the observance of the rule he wrote was in his conception to be confined to a single house, or even to his own country. He clearly saw that its use might spread to other lands, and might have to be adapted to conditions wholly different from those of his native Italy. In these circumstances the very absence of any direction for organization must be taken as a true and sincere expression of his inmost mind.

Having laid down lines for the government of a Christian family desirous of living according to the Gospel counsels, St. Benedict left the good that might result from its action on the Church and the world to

God's Providence, and to be determined by the needs and circumstances of time and place. And so it has come about. "St. Benedict," writes Cardinal Newman, "found the world physical and social in ruins, and his mission was to restore it in the way—not of science, but of nature; not as if setting about to do it; not professing to do it by any set time, or by any series of strokes, but so quietly, patiently, gradually, that often till the work was done it was not known to be doing. It was a restoration, rather than a visitation, correction, or conversion."

And, in fact, the greatest works of the Monastic Order for religion, for civilization, and for learning, were effected without set design. When the Church had need for its aid and support it was found that by its inherent vitality it had grown into, and strengthened itself for what was required of it. Few things in ecclesiastical history are so remarkable as the perpetual renewal of the Benedictine spirit, springing up within the order itself and manifesting itself in various forms. For this St. Benedict in his rule left no provision beyond what is implied in the exercises of the monastic daily life of prayer and labour, and discipline of mind and heart. And the history of the order shows that there was no need for any such provision, that if the life here and there became for a time relaxed, there was always within it a reserve of power and strength which could not long be repressed, but would break forth in new beginnings, and which, by way "not of science but of nature," would wake again into life those perhaps grown languid by lapse of time.

The genius of Cardinal Newman has caught the very spirit of St. Benedict's followers, as manifested in the history of the past, when he recognizes the order as "an organization, diverse, complex, and irregular, and variously ramified, rich rather than symmetrical, with many origins and centres and new beginnings, and the

action of local influences. . . . Instead of progressing c
plan and system, and from the will of a superior, it ha
shot forth and run out as if spontaneously, and ha
shaped itself according to events, from an irrepressib
fullness of life within, and from the energetic self-actio
of its parts, like those symbolical creatures in th
prophet's vision which went every one of them straigh
forward, whither the impulse of the Spirit was to go

It was a perception of this truth which must ha
inspired the Count de Montalembert, a statesman,
politician, a *litterateur*, a man of the world, to devo
so much of his life to the study of the history of t
Monastic Order in the West, and to have dedicated
the telling of the story the full maturity of his powe
He recognized in the very simplicity of its metho
and in the resolute cheerfulness of its spirit, that it h
a service to render to the world of to-day.

THE ENGLISH PREMONSTRATENSIANS*

THE Premonstratensian Order was founded in the early part of the twelfth century by St. Norbert. This remarkable man was born at Xanten, in the duchy of Cleves, in 1080. His family were highly connected, his father being Count of Gennep, and his mother a cousin of the Emperor Henry IV. The aspirations of Norbert's early years seemed to mark him out for an ecclesiastical career, and when quite a youth, in accordance with an abuse of Church patronage unfortunately too common in those days, he was presented with a canonry in his native city. At the earliest possible age he was ordained subdeacon; but, being attracted by natural disposition to the gaieties of the world, for a long time he hesitated to enter the higher grades of the sacred ministry and passed his time mostly at the court of his cousin the Emperor, to whom he acted as almoner. In the thirtieth year of his age, however, his thoughts were turned to the more serious side of life by a narrow escape from death by lightning. After a prolonged preparation he received the sacred orders of deacon and priest, and spent a considerable period of strict retirement in the abbey of Conon. As a result of his reflections he resigned his canonry and other preferments, and in 1118 embraced a life of complete poverty in order that he might the better devote his life to the work of preaching to the poor. He commenced his new mode of

* A paper read at a meeting of the Royal Historical Society, 9 December 1902.

work by an unsuccessful attempt to induce his brethren the canons of Xanten, to embrace a life more in accor with the regular observances, to which they wer bound, at least theoretically, by their name of " canons. Failing to induce others to follow his example, in 111 he determined to establish a body of Regular Canon constituted according to his ideals. For the purpose o his first experiment Norbert made choice of a lonel and desolate valley in the forest of St. Gobain, whic subsequently became renowned throughout Europe a Prémontré. Here, by the side of a stream and near t the remains of an ancient chapel, the Bishop of Lac built for him and his companions the first house of th new Order, and here on Christmas Day 1121 some fort religious received the white habit and cloak of Canon Regular. Their founder gave them the rule of S Augustine, and four years later, in 1125, the Premonstr tensian Canons were formally approved by Pop Honorius I.

From the time of its first foundation the new Order gre by leaps and bounds. St. Norbert, as I have said, destine his followers for the preaching of the Gospel to the poo but they were to be moulded for their work by th practice of strict conventual life. In giving them th rule of the Austin Canons, their founder desired tha the superior should receive the Abbatial dignity an character. It is worth remarking that the Prémontr Canons were the first to conceive the idea, afterwar so largely developed by the mendicants of the thirteent century, of uniting to them by a formal aggregation la men and women in what was known as a " third Order These associated brethren, though not bound by th stricter obligations of religious life, still, while engage in their secular employments, followed a mitigat observance somewhat akin to that of the canon themselves. At Prémontré and elsewhere there we also established in the vicinity of the abbeys conven

of women, called Canonesses, much on the lines subsequently adopted by the Gilbertines in England. This form of Premonstratensian life, however, never obtained in this country, and the only two establishments of English Canonesses which came into existence had no connection with any abbey of the Order.

The first monastery of Premonstratensian Canons in these islands was in Scotland, whither King David brought a colony in 1125; that is, of course, during the lifetime of the founder. In England itself the first abbey was set up at Newhouse in Lincolnshire, to which in 1143 the abbey of Licques, near Calais, furnished the community. Within a quarter of a century, Newhouse became the parent of Alnwick (1147); St. Agatha's (1152); Welbeck (1153); Barlings (1154); and Sulby or Welford (1154). In another fifty years or so, it had sent out six more colonies: namely, Croxton (1172); Cupholme (1190); Neubo (1198); Dale, otherwise called Stanley Park (1204); and Coverham (1212). In 1195 Alnwick placed a daughter house at Langley, and in 1200 St. Agatha's one at Eggleston. In almost the same period Welbeck, destined to be perhaps the most important of all the English houses, had planted seven colonies: Hagneby (1175); Leyston (1183); Beauchief (1183); West Dereham (1188); Torre (1196); Dureford (*circa* 1217); and Hales Owen (1218). Sulby, too, had established one daughter abbey at Lavendon; and Croxton three, namely Blanchland (1190), Cockersand (1193), and Horneby (?1200); whilst Shap or Heppa, in Cumberland, was the creation of Blanchland within a few years of its own foundation. Prémontré itself was directly responsible for the foundation of two English houses: St. Radegund's, or Bradsole Abbey (1193), and Begeham (1200). To these we must add Langdon, an offshoot from Leyston (1183); Titchfield, founded in 1231; Wendling, founded from Langley (1267); Bileigh near Maldon (1180); and the cell of Dodford, founded

from Hales Owen. To complete the list of Premon stratensian foundations in England it is necessary t name the two convents of canonesses of the Orde at Brodholm in Nottinghamshire and Irford i Lincoln.

Down to the present time the information availab for the general history of the Order in this country, an for the particular history of the above-named thirty four houses, has been scanty and disappointing. Th collection of documents which the Royal Historic Society now proposes to print in the series of Camde publications adds very materially in every way to ou knowledge of the general government of the Order this country, and furnishes us with many documen of importance and interest for the history of eac individual house. The papers are drawn from tw sources: (1) A transcript of a Register of the Orde made in the eighteenth century, and now in the Britis Museum; and (2) an original Register among t Ashmole MSS. (MS. 1519) in the Bodleian Library.

The Museum transcript forms part of the collecti of the antiquary Francis Peck, the author of the we known *Desiderata Curiosa*, made with the intention producing an additional volume to Dugdale's *Mona ticon Anglicanum*. Five volumes (Add. MS. 4934 Add. MS. 4938) among the Additional MSS. in t British Museum now contain these collections, and t first two relate exclusively to the Premonstratensi Canons. To a great extent the documents were tran cribed, apparently about the year 1733, from a *Registru Premonstratense*; and although, to suit the convenien of students, Peck has systematized and arranged th Register, he is careful to give the foliation of t original MS., and it is thus possible to say that he H made use of the entire Register. The Museum becam possessed of these Peck transcripts in a very simp manner. Upon the death of the antiquary most of

manuscripts were purchased by Sir Thomas Cave. These monastic collections were placed by him in the hands of Dr. Andrew Gifford, one of the sub-librarians of the British Museum, for examination and arrangement. At the beginning of the first of these five volumes (MS. 4934) Dr. Gifford has inserted a memorandum, dated 14th May 1779, setting forth how they found their way into the national library. Having put them in order for Sir Thomas Cave, Dr. Gifford, recognizing their value for English monastic history, pressed Sir Thomas to allow them to remain among the Museum collections. He could obtain no definite promise from their owner, and had to be content with a reply to the effect that "probably some time or other they would come" to the library. For many years they remained under Dr. Gifford's care at the Museum; but in the year 1777 the owner called for them and took them away. Sir Thomas died the year after their removal, and his son, in answer to Dr. Gifford's renewed request that these collections might be given to the Museum, handed them over to him. The opinion of the librarian as to their worth is recorded in the note already mentioned. "They are," he says, "a most valuable and almost inestimable collection. If the gentlemen at Rome, who have been some years composing the history of the Premonstratenses, knew of them, doubtless they would consult and insert them; having made great enquiries after the same years ago."

Unfortunately, Peck does not give any indication of the place where the Register thus transcribed was preserved. This is all the more strange inasmuch as in his other collections he is usually most careful to give the name of the owner of every manuscript he copied. Thus, a great many papers were to be found, we are told, in the Duke of Rutland's room at Belvoir Castle: as, for example, the Domesday of Croxton Abbey. But, in the case of the *Registrum Premonstratense*, though in

every case the folio of the MS. is carefully noted, n
indication is given by which it is possible to discove
even where the original was in Peck's time, still less, o
course, where it is at the present day. As no referenc
whatever is made by the antiquary to ownership, i
seems not improbable that the volume may have bee
his own property at the time he copied it.

The second source from which it is proposed to tak
the collections for Premonstratensian history, about t
be published by this Society, is, as I have alread
indicated, a volume now in the Bodleian Library. MS
Ashmole 1519 is an original Register of Bishop Redma
and records his visitations and other business trans
actions with the Premonstratensian Order in England
of which he was a member, and, during a long perio
at the end of the fifteenth century, practically th
superior. It had been supposed by many that thi
Ashmole MS. was really the original *Registrum Premon
stratense* from which Peck's transcript had been made
This, however, proved not to be the case when, b
means of the transcript of the Oxford MS. acquired b
the Royal Historical Society, it has been possible t
compare it carefully with Peck's transcript. They are
indeed, entirely different; but there can be little doub
that the *Registrum Premonstratense* used by Pec
originally formed part of the same general Register o
which the Ashmole MS. is the other part.

In the first, or Peck MS., the earliest document is
letter dated 1291, and written by the Abbot of Prémontr
to England. The entire volume comprises some 16
distinct records, the last being the account of th
election of Edmund Greyne as abbot of Hales Owen
on 4th July 1505. Most of the documents are concerne
with the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and toward
the close of the latter century there are recorded man
visitations made by Bishop Redman. The second, o
Ashmole MS., is rightly known, however, as " Redman"

Register," since, whilst registering indeed some few early papers—probably copied into the volume for easy reference, as precedents—the volume is almost entirely filled with the record of Bishop Redman's administration of the Order from 1474 to 1505. The visitations registered in the other volume, it may be remarked, are supplementary to those here recorded.

Bishop Redman, a native of Cumberland, entered the Premonstratensian Order in the house of Shap, of which he subsequently became abbot, some time about 1459. Shap Abbey was situated only a few miles from Levens, his birthplace, and it was an important house with ample revenues. In 1478 Redman was nominated by the Abbot of Prémontré his vicar in England. By this time he had already been Bishop of St. Asaph for ten years, although he still continued to hold the abbacy of Shap with full jurisdiction, spending much of his time in the practical government of his house. Redman was evidently a man of great energy and determination. He found the cathedral church of his see of St. Asaph a mere heap of ruins, in which state it had remained since Owen Glendower had destroyed it in 1408. He set to work to restore it, and when, in 1496, he was translated to Exeter, he left it substantially what it remains to-day. In 1501 he was again translated, to Ely, and he died at Ely House, Holborn, on 24th August 1505. Practically during all his long episcopate, extending over thirty-seven years, Redman continued to exercise the office of visitor of his Order in England, and the record of his work is to be found in the two volumes of his Register about to be published by the Royal Historical Society. That he continued to hold the abbacy of Shap after he became bishop, and that not merely *in commendam* but as the governing superior, is a fact quite out of the ordinary course and somewhat difficult to explain. The only suggestion I can offer is that, in view of the impoverished state of his first

diocese and of his determination to rebuild his cathedral he was allowed to retain the well-endowed abbey of Shap. His continuance to the close of his life in the office of Visitor of the English Province of Premonstratensian Canons is evidence that he was appreciated by his brethren, and had the full confidence of the head of the Order abroad.

Peck's transcript of the *Registrum Premonstratense* then, and the Ashmole original MS., when put together form one general Register, and they furnish a fairly full record of the Order in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Moreover, it would appear more than likely that both volumes were in reality the work of Bishop Redman. Both certainly were connected with him in some way or other, since the records of his visitations are to be found in both, although no single record is repeated: the full Register requiring both manuscripts to complete it. It would seem probable that in the first part, which we know only in Peck's transcript, the Bishop had gathered together copies of early documents, mainly regarding the relations of the mother house at Prémontré with the English abbeys: these, with certain forms likely to be useful in the work of administration either for reference as precedents, or to be copied as occasion required, form the greater portion of the volume, the rest being taken up with records of actual visitations. The Ashmole MS. is almost exclusively occupied with the acts of the Bishop's administration as vicar of the Abbot of Prémontré and as visitor

Of the subsequent history of this latter volume practically very little is known. In 1697, when the *Catalogus Angliæ* was published, it was already among the Ashmole MSS. In 1642, however, Gervase Holles transcribed from it certain lists in a volume now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 6118), and the old Register was then in the possession of Sir Wingfield Bodenham

This is practically all that is known about it. Since it has been in the Bodleian it has furnished some material to local antiquaries interested in the history of certain houses, but not to any great extent. In Nash's *Worcestershire* (Appendix, xxxix-xl) there are several pieces regarding Hales Owen printed from the volume. Addy, in the *History of Beauchief*, gives his translation of some few documents.

One feature of Peck's transcript must be noticed. I have said that the antiquary did more than merely copy the original Register: he arranged it in such a way as to render its contents more accessible to the historical inquirer. In the first instance he sorted the documents and classified them under the heads of *Generalia* and *Specialia*. In the *Generalia* he placed all records relating to the general history or administration of the Order in England, arranged as far as possible in strict chronological sequence. In the second or *Specialia* he gathered up all pieces relating to the individual houses and arranged them under their special names set down in alphabetical order. In this way those who were interested in any special locality or abbey are able to turn at once to the material they desire to consult. On consideration and consultation for the purpose of the forthcoming edition of the MSS., Peck's arrangement was thought to be so useful that not only has it been determined not to disturb it, but to treat the Ashmole Register upon the same system, and to classify the documents contained in it under the same two headings, placing them in their proper position with those copied by Peck.

Let us now consider a few of the main features in the history of the English Premonstratensians as it appears in the documents thus arranged. The first, and indeed in many ways the most important, point illustrated by these papers are the relations of the English abbeys with the head house of the Order at Prémontré. Although,

as we have seen, that abbey had very little direct shar in planting the English branch of Premonstratensians it still claimed, by the rule of St. Norbert, to be some thing more than a head or chief house. Its abbo demanded the right to exercise authority over a houses of the Order and to occupy the position c general superior over all other abbots. In this the claim of Prémontré were similar to those of Cîteaux and Clun in regard to the Benedictine houses of their respectiv Congregations.

The case of the English Premonstratensians provide us with a good illustration of the almost necessar difficulties and inconveniences which in practice existe in regard to these international Congregations, and o the friction which, at times at least, prevented th smooth working of such a system. Apart from th obvious difficulty which must be experienced by an foreign superior, of understanding the temperament an peculiar needs of his English subjects, national com plications were always possible, and the religious in thi country were frequently forced to make choice betwee obedience to the laws of their country and the dut they owed to the foreign heads of their Order.

From the English canons Prémontré claimed thre things: regular attendance on the part of the abbots a the annual General Chapter, held at the mother house the appointment of the visitor to examine and repor to the Abbot General as to the state of the houses; an the right to tax the affiliated houses for the benefit o the Order in general and Prémontré in particular. I was this last demand which, in practice, caused man difficulties and led to many misunderstandings. Ou documents, indeed, commence with a very pretty quarrel on this score in full swing. Adam de Crecy wa Abbot of Prémontré from 1304 to 1327, and the resul of his battle royal with the English suffragan abbot on the subject of subsidies was ever after considered a

the ruling precedent, at least in this country. The English abbots, acting on a royal prohibition against any such payments to foreign superiors—which, by the way, they do not seem to have much misliked—had been for some time defaulters, when, in 1310, Abbot Adam de Crecy summoned them all to the meeting of General Chapter at Prémontré, and commanded them to bring with them the overdue tallages. On receipt of this citation the abbots met together on 23rd July 1310, and by a joint letter, whilst expressing "due obedience, reverence, and honour" for the Abbot of Prémontré personally, informed him that they were quite unable to comply with his orders. A royal prohibition passed by Parliament, they said, prevented them from leaving the kingdom for such a purpose, and were they to disregard this statute they would certainly be outlawed and unable to return to their country. Two of their number were, however, deputed to go over the sea to the meeting of General Chapter, and they were charged to explain more fully the real state of the case, and that, besides this prohibition against leaving the country, the English law also forbade them to pay any tax that might be imposed upon them by the Order abroad.

The abbots of Langdon and Sulby were the two chosen as proctors to represent their English brethren at Prémontré on this occasion, and, fortified by a letter signed and sealed by fourteen English abbots, they attended the meeting of Chapter. How they fared does not exactly appear in these papers except in the result. Abbot Adam and the Chapter of Prémontré would listen to no explanation, and they issued a decree of condemnation against the English abbots for not appearing in answer to the citation, and for not paying the required subsidy. Their excuses, as set forth by the two delegates, were rejected as unworthy and inadequate; and a sentence of excommunication was

passed on all of them, to take effect without furthe formality if they had not paid all that was due fro them by the following Easter. Their delegates, th abbots of Langdon and Sulby, were ordered, moreove under severe penalties to publish this sentence of th whole Order in every English abbey before the end o the year.

On 18th October 1310, consequently, these two abbo summoned a General Chapter of the English Provinc to meet them at Lincoln on 1st December, in the churc of the Friars of the Sack (Saccorum). Besides th attendance of the abbot, each house was, as usua directed to elect and send a delegate to the meetin that the affair might be fully known and discusse The delegates would, they say, personally explain t the Fathers how and for what reasons the Chapter a Prémontré had rejected the excuses they had bee charged to give in their name for not obeying th citation to Chapter and for their continued non-pa ment of the tallages. In the same assembly the purposed to carry out the orders they had received i regard to the publication of the decree of gener excommunication. The position was difficult an perplexing; on the one side and on the other there wa danger. If the English abbots gave way and paid th foreign demands, they would have to reckon with th law of the land; if they refused or neglected to compl they were threatened with the displeasure of the superior and the heaviest spiritual penalties. It wa really a case of " the devil and the deep sea "; but it fortunately not necessary, at any rate for us, to dete mine exactly which was which.

The English abbots, as we have seen, were to meet a Lincoln on 1st December 1310; but before that date th king had written a letter to the conveners of th Chapter, which somewhat assisted the solution or a least fortified the English abbots in their resolution t

resist. It is not very far-fetched to imagine that some one of the Fathers had acquainted the King with the perilous position in which they found themselves. At any rate, on 10th November 1310, Edward II, writing from Berwick-on-Tweed, issued letters absolutely prohibiting the levying of any subsidy or tallage on behalf of Prémontré or the payment thereof. His father, Edward I, he says, had already finally dealt with this matter. Knowing that imposts were exacted of religious in England by their foreign superiors, contrary to the intention of the founders of the English houses and to the injury of the realm, in the thirtieth year of his reign he passed an act of Parliament forbidding any English superior ever again to try to raise such subsidies, under whatever name they chose to call them. By the present letter, therefore, the king desired to remind the abbots of Langdon and Sulby of these enactments, and warned them of the grave penalties they would all suffer if they ignored the statutes of the kingdom.

The king's monition had its due weight. The Chapter met as arranged at Lincoln, and the Fathers, sheltering themselves behind the authority of the royal letter, determined on a bold course of action. They denied that the Abbot of Prémontré or the Chapter could legally claim any tallage from them. They admitted that it had been paid previously, but they claimed that this had been done merely through motives of fraternal charity towards Prémontré, and not because they were in any way bound to contribute to the foreign establishment. In the present case, being constrained by King Edward's distinct prohibition, they unanimously resolved to withstand the claims of Abbot Adam and the General Chapter of the Order as onerous and injurious. They indited a spirited protest against the action of Prémontré, inasmuch as, although the distinct prohibition of the king was made known to him, the Abbot had imposed heavy subsidies under ecclesiastical excommunication

for refusal to pay. "We therefore," they say in conclusion, "fearing prejudice to our houses, and desiring to safeguard their interests from foreign exactions and ourselves from excommunication and punishment appeal directly to the Holy Apostolic See" for protection. Before dispersing, on 2nd December 1310, the necessary formalities for the appeal were gone through in the choir of the Friars' Church, and notaries and proctors were appointed to draw up the needful documents and prosecute the business to a conclusion before the Curia.

For the purpose of the appeal, the proctors of the English abbots in the first instance called for copies of all the letters from Prémontré, which had been produced by the two abbots of Langdon and Sulby who had acted as delegates from the Abbot and General Chapter. These were produced on 20th January 1310-11 at Barlings Abbey, in a certain room called the "abbot's new chamber." The record of this meeting is of interest as showing the extreme care that was taken to verify the original documents: a minute description of the subscriptions and of various seals being recorded. The following day, 21st January, in the abbot's said chamber and in the presence of a notary public, the English abbots constituted William de Kyrkton, canon of Barlings, Robert de Spalding, canon of Croxton, and Robert de Rotheram, canon of Beauchief, their proctors to prosecute the appeal to the Pope. They gave them full power to act and to get others to act in their name. They engaged to abide by the decision, whatever it might be, and pledged themselves to meet all necessary expenses.

The same day William de Kyrkton, named above as first proctor, submitted a draft of his formal appeal. It complained generally of the imposition of subsidies from abroad without the consent of the abbots themselves. It asserted in plain language that the English

houses were unduly burdened and had a right to complain that such subsidies were demanded under threat of spiritual censures. Moreover, in regard to visitations the English canons had serious cause to protest. Whilst other provinces were visited yearly by two abbots chosen for the purpose in the district, the Abbot of Prémontré, either himself personally or by a commissary, had been accustomed to come over to England with a large train of horses and attendants, and this had been necessarily a source of great expense to the various houses. William de Kyrkton submitted this draft for the criticism and reply of the abbot of Langdon, who by a legal fiction was supposed to be representing the Abbot of Prémontré, and he annexed to it a list of papers. On 10th March 1311, the appeal was ratified by all the abbots who had not previously taken part in the business, and the process was launched at the Curia. As time went on, however, some of the Order were apparently not so entirely satisfied as to the position of hostility to Prémontré definitely assumed by English abbots generally. How far the distrust went it is now impossible to say; but a private letter was certainly sent by the abbots of Newhouse and Croxton to the other abbots of the Midland houses requesting them to convoke a meeting as secretly as possible to discuss the matter. On 22nd August, also, the same two abbots, who were, by the way, the visitors of the Province in the year 1311, wrote fully to the same Midland abbots explaining the situation and advising a continuance of the appeal. The English Premonstratensians were in a serious dilemma. Hence the only apparent and legitimate way out of it was to ask the Holy See to decide, and in this all agreed and guaranteed the necessary funds. They had acquainted the Abbot of Prémontré of their attitude and of their appeal. Some of the abbots, however, had not paid the sum at which they were taxed for expenses of the appeal, or rather had not

refunded promptly to the writers, who had advance
the money for transmission to Rome, so as not
jeopardise their case by delay in the payment of fee
For this reason, as the visitors explain, it was necessa
to make a new apportionment, and all are asked
meet their obligations punctually and without fail.
is added, by way of encouraging them to pay cheerfull
that the subsidy demanded by Prémontré was real
greater than the tax necessitated by the expenses
the appeal. The sum asked was in most cases £4 14
from each house; but the costs were mounting up, a
already, in the one year, five demands had been ma
upon the abbeys, and the total had reached no less
sum than £320, a very considerable amount in tho
days.

Meanwhile, as far as appears, the Prémontré autho
ities abroad took no notice of the appeal to the Pop
General Chapter met in the autumn of 1311 and pr
ceeded to declare the English abbots contumacious a
rebellious in withholding the payments previous
made to the head house and sanctioned by Chapt
These dues, however, it may be remarked, were
longer apparently claimed as a right, but "by ancie
and approved" custom. The abbots of Langdon a
St. Radegund were charged by the Chapter under t
severest censures to publish, during the solemnity
the Mass, the excommunication pronounced by
against all the English abbots. They were to warn
the canons to have no dealings with the abbots whi
they remained under the sentence, and to declare
the abbots themselves that under pain of depositi
they must personally appear at Prémontré to answ
for their disobedience.

Abbot Adam this year, after celebrating the Prémon
Chapter, went to Vienne, where a General Council—
same which sealed the doom of the Templars—h
assembled on 16th October. Thence, on 10th Febru

1311–12, the Abbot General sent the English abbots a reminder of his existence and of his determination to bring them back to a sense of their duty. He had been very kind to them, he says in this letter, and had granted them many privileges in former days; but now, as they were all under the sentence of excommunication passed upon them by General Chapter of the Order, he desired to recall all favours previously granted, and he ordered the abbot of Langdon to publish this revocation for him.

Abbot Adam, however, did not have it all his own way. Pope Clement V, to whom the English had appealed for protection, appointed Cardinal Peter Colonna to act for him as auditor, or judge. On 17th March the Cardinal, being then also at Vienne for the Council, after having listened to the proctors of the two parties, issued a prohibition to the Abbot of Prémontré. By this document he was commanded not to do anything in the matter or to issue any sentence whilst the case was pending, and it condemned him to pay all costs and a further sum in compensation for damage in the event of his disregarding this peremptory admonition. Even this, however, does not appear to have made the Abbot pause in his endeavour to vindicate what he held to be the rights of the mother house of the Order. On 14th April 1312, his agents in England, the abbots of Langdon and St. Radegund, again issued a notice of his excommunication against the recalcitrant English superiors, and further absolved all their subjects from obedience to them. They again, according to their instructions, warned the canons generally to hold no converse or communication with any of their abbots so long as they remained under the sentence, and they commanded the Priors of the various houses to notify the orders of the Abbot of Prémontré to their respective superiors. This sentence was repeated on 30th April, to guard against any plea of ignorance.

It must have been throughout a difficult and anxious position for the English abbots, although in point of fact it is surprising how little appears to have come from the terrible threats and sentences, peremptory citations and judgments, not to name all the censures and excommunications which were flying about. The general reader is irresistibly reminded of the classic lines in *The Jackdaw of Rheims*, which describe the apparent result when the Cardinal

> called for his candle, his bell, and his book.
>
> Never was heard such a terrible curse!
> But what gave rise to no little surprise,
> Nobody seemed one penny the worse!

Apparently conscious of the royal power and protection behind them, the abbots, having launched their appeal to the Pope, could afford to possess their souls in patience and regard the fulminations of their foreign superior as calculated merely to relieve his feelings without hurting them, so long as their case was pending.

On 6th May 1312, the English proctors wrote from Vienne, and their letter contained some cheering news. On the vigil of the Ascension one of them had presented to the Abbot of Prémontré the formal document of prohibition, above referred to, which was issued by Cardinal Colonna against his proceeding further. Abbot Adam was much upset. In fact, the proctors evidently took a little malicious pleasure in reporting that "he was made so ill from grief and mortification at this unexpected result that he kept to his room for five days and never left his house at all." The English abbots, they add, need have no fear as to the result. "Master William de Staping," the proctor, will certainly gain the cause provided that "*id abundanter habeat quod oportet*"—which being interpreted means, if he be kept well supplied with money. Already the Abbot of

Begham had obtained judgment against the Abbot of Prémontré for eighty golden florins, and in the general cause the English abbots would long ago have got absolution from the censures pronounced against them from Prémontré had they asked for it. Finally, there is no doubt, they say, as they are told frequently by the official, that the said Father Abbot will utterly fail to carry his cause in the Curia, if Master William, the proctor, lives and remains to fight for the English. The said William, they add, has gained a great reputation in the Curia, and is looked upon as " the very flower of the English nation."

Two days later, 8th May, the above-named William Staping, the agent at Vienne, writes more at length to William de Kyrkton, the general proctor in England of the English abbots. A great deal of money, he admits, had already been spent upon this appeal. The truth is that the proctors of Abbot Adam had promised great sums for the reversal of what had hitherto been obtained in the way of inhibition; but they had failed. There was much still to be done to secure the position, and the agent William does not hope to be able to obtain a full absolution even *ad cautelam* before St. Michael's day. The fact is that new charges have been made against the English by the Prémontré authorities, but the English canons may take it that in the end the Abbot will " get a fall " if he proceed. Further funds, he says, are urgently needed, and he hopes they will be sent him before the autumn is out. There is a rumour that it is not unlikely that in the General Council then being held the Abbot of Prémontré will lose his exemption from episcopal control, unless he can obtain it again from the Pope and Cardinals. To account in some way for the great delay, the agent points out that several of the necessary documents were badly drawn in a legal sense, and matters of importance were even left out altogether. This necessitated recalling them all and

again drafting them correctly: all of which had taken time.

The final result at the Curia does not appear in the present collection of documents. Peace, however, was restored in some way between Prémontré and the abbots of the English province. On 25th February 1313–4, Abbot Adam wrote to his agent, the abbot of Langdon, that as he understood the recalcitrant prelates were anxious to return to their obedience, he might absolve them from the sentences pronounced against them. This olive branch was apparently accepted, for a final agreement was arrived at in the General Chapter held in 1315. To end the dispute it was allowed that the English abbots, instead of undergoing yearly the danger and expense of a journey to Prémontré for the Chapter, should be represented by the visitors only and such others as might for some purpose be specially summoned. The Abbot of Prémontré might, indeed, visit the English province yearly if he so desired; but then only his bare personal expenses were to be defrayed by the houses. If he pleased he might depute visitors to act for him every five years. Further, only necessary collections should be made from the English houses and these only after they had been approved by the General Chapter and the amount to be charged had been approved by the visitors. This practically ended the great case. The victory certainly lay with the English, and although some few of the papers in this collection seem to suggest that there were still slight difficulties at times, the principle had been settled once for all and in accordance with the English contention. The sovereign also evidently kept an eye upon the Order to see that his commands about not taking money out of the kingdom for the use of Prémontré were attended to. In 1343, for example, the king, who was then, of course, Edward III, hearing that the Abbot of Prémontré was again trying to claim the

payment of subsidies, forestalled him by a prohibition. He also ordered the sheriff of Northumberland to see that none of the northern abbots paid the demands.

It has been already suggested that the collection of early documents, about the quarrel between Prémontré and England as to the payment of subsidies and tallages, was made by Bishop Redman, when, as visitor and representative of the foreign superior in England, he had a threatened repetition of the previous difficulties. The papers were undoubtedly the best precedents to guide him in dealing with the matter. After many complaints that the demand he had made upon the English houses had not been attended to, in 1488 Herbert, then Abbot of Prémontré, wrote a formal protest to Bishop Redman. He bade him collect at once what was due and forward it without delay. He threatened the superiors with penalties if they did not comply, in much the same way as Abbot Adam had a hundred and fifty years before. He further suggested that if the actual cash could not be obtained the equivalent value should be sent in English merchandise. Almost any kind would be acceptable to them abroad, he says, and especially if it took the form of good white cloth suitable for their habits, or a good and sure ambler, as a sure-footed horse, gentle and quiet in its pacés, could rarely be found in those parts. To this strong remonstrance Bishop Redman replied that he had done his best for Prémontré, and had contrived, sometimes by threats and sometimes by persuasion, to obtain what had been demanded. It was right, however, he says, that the Abbot of Prémontré should realize once for all that the English abbots do not in any way allow and never have allowed the justice of the claim. They allege a general and binding composition made with Abbot Adam de Crecy on the matter, as well as a statute of the realm, actually and in so many words forbidding them to send money over the sea to a foreign superior

under pain of treason and forfeiture of goods. The Bishop, however, sent the Abbot a copy of what the English houses had been wont to give, and he promised to try to procure the white cloth and other things the Abbot wanted. The cloth, he adds, had been sent once before, but it had been captured by pirates.

Sufficient, however, and indeed more than sufficient has been said upon this matter, for after all, though important, the money difficulties form really only an episode in the story of the English Premonstratensians as revealed to us in the documents collected in these two Registers. There are, of course, records of a great number of Chapters held in England in the fifteenth century, which, curiously enough, were for some reason or other never celebrated in any house of the Order but usually in the church attached to some friary. These papers are useful, but not so important as they might have been had their acts been fuller and possessed of a more legislative character. A good deal of the discussions is taken up with directions about the dress of the canons, and it is perhaps not uninteresting to learn that these White Canons had at one time adopted *black* habits in England, and had to be recalled to their original colour lest they should be confused with the Black, or Austin, Canons. The rochet also seems to have caused a good deal of difficulty at various times. Some obtained permission to wear it, and thus, of course, others wanted it, and so finally its use became general. Towards the close of the century the celebration of Chapters became the occasions of a display, or ecclesiastical pageant, on the part of the Premonstratensians. On one occasion Bishop Redman writes round begging all the prelates to bring copes with them to the meeting, so that the procession might possess due solemnity. On another he asks all the abbots to bring their crosiers and other *pontificalia*, as it was intended to make the procession at Nottingham as gorgeous as possible.

Another important matter in the religious life well illustrated in this collection of papers is the visitation of the monasteries of the Order during Bishop Redman's time. It must in truth be confessed that there was a good deal to correct; but one thing certainly appears, and that is that the visitor never shirked his duty in any way, and never condoned offences without satisfactory, and indeed frequently severe, punishment of the guilty party. There is very little evidence, I fear, of any revival of studies or learning among these Canons, or any great desire to attain to the higher ideals of the canonical rule of life. Still, it is always unsafe to take the records of visitations, still more the injunctions made at the time, as complete evidence of the general tone. The very purpose of a visitation is to point out shortcomings and to insist upon reform, and whilst stress is necessarily laid in the records upon failings, there is, on the other hand, no notice at all of much useful work or of any good observance.

In the accounts of these visitations we have many records of the journeys made by the visitor, the rates of progress from place to place, and where he was housed by the way. It is impossible not to be struck with the rapidity with which he frequently moved from one point to another.

In relation to these and to the many elections recorded in the Register we have numerous lists of the canons of various houses, and our knowledge of the names of the abbots is greatly increased. A few inventories are preserved, none perhaps of any very great interest, and some English letters, whilst a great number of forms of citation and election and drafts of addresses, at the meetings of Chapters or by the visitor presiding at a visitation or election, are scattered over the volume.

On the whole, therefore, I fully believe that not only will these collections add materially to our knowledge

about the English White Canons, but they will be found not wholly devoid of interest even to those whose studies are not directed along these lines of historical inquiry.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE HOLY SEE, 1792-1806

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FOREWORD

THE following pages give a brief *résumé* of some documents regarding diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Rome, hitherto practically unknown. They relate to the period of the Napoleonic wars, between 1792 and 1806, and will be found full of interest to the student of this period of our history. A general history of the relations of England to the Pope would be a subject to repay the student who would undertake it. The present study of twelve years, during the reign of George III of England and the pontificates of Popes Pius VI and Pius VII, may be considered as forming one chapter of such a history.

Some few words will be useful in giving the reader the necessary "setting" to appreciate fully the papers here referred to. The French Republic was proclaimed on 2nd September 1792, and immediately the National Convention gave its sanction to the massacre of hundreds of people in Paris and elsewhere. In England the news of these horrors at once cleared up any doubts as to the character of the French Revolution, and ranged the country in opposition to the Republicans. On 8th February 1793, the great war, which was destined to last till 7th July 1815, began.

* Printed in Rome, 1919.

The naval supremacy of England enabled it at onc to seize the outlying French colonies, and its fleet proceeded to blockade Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort. I the summer of 1794, the Brest squadron of the Frenc navy put to sea to convoy a merchant fleet, but wa caught and beaten by Lord Howe on "the gloriou First of June." On the other hand the English suffere a reverse at Toulon, which the Royalist inhabitants c the town had handed over to the English. On 20t November 1793, Lord Hood, commanding the Britis fleet in the Mediterranean, Sir Gilbert Elliot, and Lor O'Hara took over the administration, until such tim as the monarchy should be re-established in Franc and the copy of the "Discourse" pronounced on th occasion by these Plenipotentiaries was forwarded t Rome for the information of Pope Pius VI, and among the papers here summarized. General Lor O'Hara, who defended the place, was obliged to reti after a short siege, and Toulon fell back into the hanc of the Republicans. Before retiring, the English we able to destroy the French fleet and arsenal.

The loss of the harbour, however, was a serious matt for the English ships in the Mediterranean, and rendere it all the more imperative for the Government cultivate the friendship of the Pope, so as to find in t ports of the Papal States places where the Engli ships might refit and obtain supplies. In 1796, Spa declared war upon England, and joined France, t Dutch fleet having previously joined against t English. In this same year, the Directory made Nap leon Bonaparte commander of the army in Italy, a in two campaigns he overran the Austrian and Sardini possessions in the valley of the Po, and continuing progress over the Alps, attacked Austria from t south. This obliged the Emperor to sue for pea which he obtained by surrendering Belgium a Lombardy to France. The latter possession ga

Napoleon the power of making further advances into Tuscany and the States of the Church. Finally, in the refusal of the Pope to expel the English from his dominions and close his ports to English ships, Napoleon found the excuse for invading the Papal territories. With these few facts to act as a " setting " the following pages may be left to tell their own story.

IT would probably astonish most people to hear that diplomatic relations between England and the Holy See existed at the close of the eighteenth century. The fact of the mission of Mgr. Erskine to the Court of St. James in 1793 is, of course, known, and in part it has been described by Mazière Brady in his interesting *Memoirs of Cardinal Erskine, Papal Envoy to the Court of George III*,* but the real origin of the mission, and that of a corresponding one to Rome, appears to be generally unknown. Lately, whilst arranging some papers of this period in the Vatican Archives, the letters of Mgr. Erskine from London and of the English agent at Rome have come to light; and, as they contain many matters of historical interest, it appears worth while to give some account of them.

It would seem that, some time in the first half of the year 1792, the English Government found it necessary to open official communications with Pope Pius VI regarding the political situation which had arisen in consequence of the war with the French Republicans. For this purpose it made choice of Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Hippisley, who had proved himself a valuable public servant in India and who had already, whilst residing in Italy in 1779 and 1780, been entrusted with several confidential communications in Rome and elsewhere.

* In a volume entitled *Anglo-Roman Papers*, 1890.

The Dictionary of National Biography says: "From 1792 to 1796 he (Hippisley) resided in Italy and was there again engaged in negotiations with the Vatican, the effects of which were acknowledged in flattering terms by the English Government." This apparently is all that has been known hitherto of his mission to the Holy See, but his position in Rome was undoubtedly one of great influence both with the Vatican authorities and with the most prominent members of the English Government. He was, for instance, in constant correspondence with the Secretary of State, Cardinal De Zelada, and more especially with Cardinal Campanelli, the pro-Datary, who was not only highly esteemed by Pius VI, but at this particular time assisted the Secretary of State in the transaction of business.

After having passed the greater part of the year 1792 in surveying the general situation, Hippisley, who was not himself a Catholic, came to the conclusion that the best interests of England would be served by having a Papal Envoy in London. It seemed to him a plain matter of political utility if not a necessity for his country, that relations should be established between the Pope and the English Government. It was a time when no religious prejudices should be allowed to prevent cordial co-operation between two powers with so many interests in common. The presence of English ships of war in the Mediterranean was rendered necessary by the operations undertaken against France, and this required the free use of the ports belonging to the Papal States for refuge, refitting, and revictualling.

On this important matter he sounded his chiefs in the Government and found them entirely sympathetic but timorous of the existing Protestant bigotry in England. Nevertheless, from the general encouragement he received from men like Pitt and Windham, he decided to try and bring about the appointment of an Envoy from the Pope, and, whilst warning his friend

at the Vatican of a possible popular outcry at home at the arrival of any Papal agent, he did all in his power to get them to risk the appointment. Circumstances favoured the project. Mazière Brady states that the Pope employed a certain "Mr. Jenkins, then living in Rome as British Consul or Agent" to make the first proposals for the projected mission. This is not the case and, as far as appears from the documents, Mr. Jenkins had nothing to do in the matter. In fact, it seems from the existing papers that Mr. Jenkins, who was an English banker living in Rome, was a rather tiresome person at this time. He was involved in complaints made by the Papal authorities of having assisted some Englishmen to evade the law against removing antiquities or works of art from Italy, also in 1793 he had tried to make some money by raising a loan for the city of Toulon, which at Mr. Hippisley's demand was prohibited both by the Papal and the English Governments. There can be little doubt, therefore, that this Mr. Jenkins had nothing to do with the project of sending the Roman Envoy to London, whilst Mr. Hippisley's letters show that the project was conceived and carried out by him. Subsequently, too, he was in constant communication with Mgr. Erskine, who was chosen for the office.

There were some people, however, who had vague fears of the bold step about to be taken by the Vatican. One Englishman, for example, a certain Joseph Denham, wrote from Onano, a village near Viterbo, to Cardinal De Zelada, the Secretary of State, to implore the Pope to desist. He said that he was a Catholic and that he feared there would be a great outbreak of Protestant prejudice against the Catholics in England, if it became known that an Envoy had been sent thither from the Pope of Rome.

The Holy Father, however, rightly gauged the situation. The French Revolution had already dis-

played its principles and ferocity, and the massacres of 2nd and 3rd September 1792, in Paris, followed as they were in France generally by like horrors, showed that the only hope for the upper classes lay in emigration. Nobles, bishops and clergy of every grade took refuge in England, which offered a compassionate welcome to all, including many thousands of Catholic priests. Pius VI was persuaded by Hippisley to utilize this generous feeling displayed by the Protestants of England and made choice of Mgr. Erskine for the mission of expressing his personal gratitude.

This prelate was eminently fitted for carrying out his difficult and delicate task. He was a Scotsman and a close relative of the Earl of Kellie and the Earl of Mar. Whilst still very young he had been taken under the protection of the Cardinal Duke of York and placed by him in the Scots College at Rome, where he remained from 1748 to 1753. Erskine then took up the study of law and his career in that profession was brilliant. He was still a layman when in 1782 Pius VI appointed him *Pro-Uditore* and then *Promotore della Fede*. The following year he received Minor Orders in St. Peter's from the hands of the Cardinal of York, and later in the same year was ordained sub-deacon.

On 4th October 1793, Monsignor Erskine set out on his mission to England. In a general way it was supposed that his journey was in part dictated by a desire to visit his Scotch relatives. But the way had been carefully prepared by Hippisley, who, although not without some fear of difficulties arising from the Protestant temperament of the English, had the best possible reasons for expecting that with moderate prudence serious objections to the Mission would not be raised.

At the very time when Erskine was setting out, the English Government were urging their Envoy in Rome to press upon the Pope the necessity of actively supporting the British resistance to the Republicans. A

the beginning of October, the English Minister at Turin wrote to urge the Pope to send pontifical troops to assist the English in the defence of Toulon; and on the 17th of that month, the Cardinal Secretary of State informed Mr. Hippisley that he feared the number of troops at the disposal of His Holiness was altogether too small to enable him to send the number of men (4,000) asked for; especially as he had to try and find troops to defend Avignon and Venaissin against the Republicans. Still, the Cardinal Secretary adds, the Pope would gladly help the English if he possibly could, and he had summoned the "Cardinals of the Congregation of State" to discuss the matter.

Meanwhile Erskine was travelling towards England. On 7th November Hippisley wrote to Lord Hood, Commander of the English fleet at Toulon, about the loan proposed by Mr. Jenkins. The Papal authorities, he says, cannot encourage the project, as the financial condition of the Papal States is very bad. He adds: "the disposition of the Pope's Government is excellent. It desires to contribute in every possible manner to the success of the common cause of England and Rome."

On 20th November of this year, 1793, Hippisley had the first news of Erskine, written from Holland. In this letter the Envoy tells him that he hears indirectly from the Lord Chancellor of England, that he will be welcomed by the Government of the country. In communicating this fact to the Vatican authorities, Mr. Hippisley tells the Cardinal Secretary of State that he thinks it would be well if the Pope were to prepare the Catholic Bishops of England and Ireland for the advent of his representative, as he has some reason to suppose that they may not like the presence of an Envoy in London. The best way would be for the Holy Father to ask them to assist Mgr. Erskine in every way, and he ventures to enclose the draft of a letter which would be most useful for him to send.

Three days later Hippisley informs the Cardinal Secretary of a letter from London, which he is sure will be read with pleasure by the Pope. The "great and powerful Mr. Burke" writes: "If the thing depended on me I should certainly enter upon diplomatic correspondence with the Court of Rome, in a much more open and legitimate manner than has been hitherto attempted. If we refuse it, the bigotry will be on our side and most certainly not on that of His Holiness. Our unnatural alienation has produced, I am convinced, great evil and prevented much good. If the present state of the world does not make us learn something, our error is much more culpable. This excellent correspondence (between Rome and England) could not begin more fortunately than under the present sovereign Pontiff, who unites in his person the kingly and priestly office with advantage to both the one and the other and giving to each a new lustre. Truly he is a Pontiff whose dignity as Prince takes nothing from his dignity as a Priest, and whose sweet condescension is everything proper to a Christian Bishop. Far from weakening in him the imposing and majestic authority of a temporal sovereign it gives him on the contrary an additional force and a greater *éclat*."

Together with this letter from Edmund Burke, Mr Hippisley sends an extract from another letter to the same effect, received from the Anglican Bishop of Winchester, whom he describes as "brother of Lord North, lately the Prime Minister of England." This prelate of the Anglican Church writes: "The establishment of relations between Great Britain and the Pope is most desirable, especially at a time when the piety, humility and liberality of Pius VI presents him to us as a Prince whose friendship is an honour and whose political or private engagements are characterized by virtue, sincerity, and goodness of heart."

At this time an interesting memorandum, for the

information of the Cardinal Secretary of State and the pro-Datary, was handed to them by the English agent, to explain all that he had done to prepare the way for the mission of Mgr. Erskine, the Pope's Envoy, to England. He marks the document as "secret" and begs that it may be returned to him after it has been read; but fortunately, perhaps, for the history of this time, it still remains among the Hippisley papers in the Vatican archives, and a few extracts from it may be permitted. "Once the mission of Mgr. Erskine had been determined upon," he writes, "I took every measure possible to anticipate any difficulties which might arise.

"The first and the greatest obstacle, which could be foreseen, was the prejudice of the lower classes of the people in general and of the sectaries in particular. In order to manifest the favourable dispositions of His Holiness to the English Government, I proposed the publication of His Holiness' letter to the Bishop of St. Pol de Leon, and the President of the committee of the *émigrés* in England was informed of my motive.

"Another object, equally necessary, was to give the English people generally the knowledge that His Holiness desired to instruct the Prelates of his displeasure at hearing that some of the lower classes among the Roman Catholics had allowed themselves to be seduced by evil minded people, and had been drawn away from their duty *to their Sovereign.*

"I forewarned all my friends in England on this matter and even wrote personally and in great detail to His Highness the Prince of Wales, Prince Augustus, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, Mr. Burke and to many other members of Parliament."

The writer then goes on to say that he fears that real intrigues and opposition to the presence in England of a Papal representative will emanate from the Catholics themselves, and in particular from the Bishops, who

thought they saw in this Envoy of the Pope a new authority imposed upon them. Even in Mr. Burke's communications, Hippisley is inclined to read in some places fears as to the reception which will be accorded to Mgr. Erskine, although he (*i.e.* Burke) is quite explicit as to his own view about the great utility of the mission.

" By the last courier," he adds, " Lord Grenville has written as follows: It seems only right to take this opportunity of thanking you [Hippisley] personally for your efforts to serve the public cause [in all this]. The consequence of measures you have taken so wisely on this important matter I am satisfied will be a very essential advantage to His Majesty's service.

" More than two months back," continues Hippisley, "I wrote to Lord Petre, the chief of the English Catholics, upon this subject, and sent him copies of His Holiness' letters to the Bishop of St. Pol de Leon, and the circular to the Irish Bishops. Although I am in excellent relations with Lord Petre, I have up to the present not had any reply from him, but Mr. Wilmot, President of the Committee *des Emigrés*, writes to me saying that the Bishop of St. Pol de Leon does not think the time altogether favourable for the immediate publication of the letter to him.

" To understand the situation it must be remembered that some time ago Mgr. Douglas [the Vicar Apostolic of the London District] wrote to his agent in Rome saying that the English Government would be quite content if he [the Bishop] were named the Papal representative. Moreover, this agent of the Vicar Apostolic told Mr. Canning, a Catholic gentleman (then in Rome) that should the Pope send any other Prelate with a commission to England, this would be doing a great wrong to Mgr. Douglas [who was in reality the existing papal agent to England]. The same representative of Mgr. Douglas told me [Hippisley], only the other day, that Mgr. Erskine would most certainly not

be received [in England] and that the Irish had threatened to hang him if he dared to set his foot in Ireland. —Why,—they say,—send us a little lawyer to meddle in the affairs of our Bishops? "

Hippisley then declares that it is his belief that the lower classes must have been put up to this, " otherwise how could they have known about the intended mission and even the name of Mgr. Erskine?" Having communicated his fears on this matter to Lord Hood, the Admiral commanding the British fleet in the Mediterranean, he replied on 7th October, making the following reflection: " One must certainly complain when one has to do with people who can only see their own private interests, without regarding the evil consequence which result to the public service."

Still, notwithstanding the obstacles that have been raised to the mission of Mgr. Erskine, Hippisley repeats his entire confidence that they will be surmounted successfully and that " the fears of the English Ministers will be dissipated even before the meeting of Parliament."

As a result of this exposition of the situation, in December a letter was written from Propaganda to the Vicar Apostolic of the London District and to the Archbishop of Dublin. In these letters the Bishops are asked to assist Mgr. Erskine in every possible way. The Cardinal Prefect expresses his fears that attempts have been made to injure the Pope's Envoy and to poison the minds of the Bishops against him, on the ground that his mission would clash with their rights and diminish their position. How absurd and false such a suggestion is, the letters say: " you may know from the words of the document, and from your experience of the way in which the Holy Father is always prompt to uphold and safeguard the dignity of the Bishops." By the Pope's direction a copy of this letter was given to Mr. Hippisley in order that any doubt

about the Holy See not supporting the mission might not be entertained for a moment.

On 17th December 1793, a copy of an interesting letter from Lord Hood was communicated by Hippisley to the Cardinal Secretary of State:

"On board the Victory, 8 November 1793.

"I received to-day the letters with which you obligingly honoured me, dated 23 and 24 of this month. They contained all the papers joined to them and the two packets of documents concerning Avignon, which the Cardinal Secretary of State had given you.

"I beg you to oblige me by assuring His Eminence that I will give all my attention to them and that I should esteem myself most happy if I could assist in any way to realise the desires of the *bon Pape*, whose character I revere and for whom I have the highest esteem. I have no doubt that Mgr. Erskine will be well received in England and that the representations and just demands of His Holiness as to Avignon may be favourably received."

A letter sent from the English agent in Rome to Lord Hood, dated 18th December 1793, comes next in order in these Hippisley papers. "I acquainted Your Excellency a long time ago," he writes, "of the project of sending some troops to Avignon. . . . Mr. Jenkins has just presented to the Cardinal Secretary a memoir, which has proved under the circumstances most embarrassing to the Pope, who is sincerely desirous on the one hand, to give every possible proof of his zeal in the common cause, and on the other is being obliged to give the greatest possible attention to whatever the present position of his own States demands of him.

"When some months ago I spoke to the Cardinal Secretary of State about troops [being required], my ideas turned on the sending of two or three thousand men to preserve and defend Avignon, once already

taken, rather than to act in any offensive measures, this appearing to me more in accord to the spirit which directs an ecclesiastical Sovereign like the Pope. It was very doubtful whether it would be possible to take some of these troops, which were newly called to arms, little trained and little disciplined; but the goodwill of the Pope was evident.

"The position of the States of the Church has since become, especially in this moment, very critical. The high cost of food and of corn in particular, is causing a great sensation among the people and excites their complaints. Three days ago, for example, at Albano, a city only four leagues from Rome, there was a kind of bread riot and they were obliged to send troops there . . . ."

At this time—December 1793—Hippisley had considerable difficulties with the same Mr. Jenkins—"a mere merchant of rings and marbles," as he calls him, to whom reference has already been made. Owing to the meddling of this gentleman, Hippisley thought it necessary to state his own exact position as British agent, in a letter to the Cardinal Secretary of State. "It was I," he writes, "who first dared to propose to the English ministry the opening up of political communications with the Court of Rome. In spite of the penal laws I openly took the initiative with our Government and persuaded them that this proposal would be of great benefit to my country: I did not fear to take the entire responsibility. Your Eminence knows that my conduct has been approved and that I have received the thanks of the English ministry. The English ministers at the only two courts in Italy, which are allied to Great Britain, have many times expressed their high appreciation of what I have done. Indeed Sir William Hamilton, the Minister at Naples, writes: 'You have had a very wise thought when you took upon yourself to open a correspondence with His Holiness.—

Mr. Trevor our Minister at Turin says:—Your country cannot but be infinitely obliged to you, for what you have done at Rome; the firmness and dignity of the Pope justly deserves our entire respect and protection. I hope that His Majesty will authorize you to present to His Holiness the compliments which respond to his high-minded conduct.—Finally the negotiations have been recognised and approved by the British Secretary of State."

To Lord Grenville, the above-mentioned Secretary of State, Mr. Hippisley wrote a long account of what he had done and was doing in regard to the Holy See. The report is dated 26th December 1793, and the most interesting portion of this document is that in which it is shown how, in spite of the great scarcity of provisions in the Papal States, the Pope had done more than he promised in providing the English fleet with grain and meat. "Lord Hood, the admiral commanding," he says, "highly appreciates the help of the Holy See in this matter, and the value of the aid is doubled by the generous manner in which it has been accorded, at a time when there was such a great need of provisions in the country." The amount of grain was more than was necessary to feed 24,000 men, on a ration of 23 ounces of bread per day, and this calculation did not include beans and vegetables, which were equally distributed between the English and Spanish forces.

The Pope was not less liberal in regard to meat; and this generosity, says Hippisley, "has given rise to great complaints among the people of his States. He has allowed us to have 500 oxen and the Spanish an equal number: 1,000 sheep and 600 pigs as well as a great quantity of other provisions from Ancona. Moreover the Pope has furnished us with 40,000 quintals of powder from his factories, and all this at cost price."

Mgr. Erskine reached London on 13th November 17[illegible] having crossed to Margate from Ostend. Here [illegible]

found that Hippisley's letters had prepared the way for his reception in a much more cordial way than he had expected. The Custom House officials at the landing stage had evidently been warned by the Government to receive him as a diplomatic personage, and the postillions on his way up to town, at every change of horses, took care to announce that he was "the Ambassador of the Pope."

The first letter of Mgr. Erskine to the Cardinal pro-Datary and the Cardinal Secretary, after reaching London is dated 22nd November. Unfortunately he had found that many of the people, to whom he had brought letters of introduction, were away in the country and that he would have to await their return. Meanwhile Prince Augustus, whom he had already known in Italy, had heard of his arrival and had obligingly sent to express his regret at not being in London to receive him, but hoped to return soon to see him and to present him at Court. Erskine thanked His Royal Highness, but suggested that it would be proper for him first to see the Ministers of State. He gave most people he had met in the first days after his arrival to understand that one object of his coming to England was to pay a visit to his Scottish relatives. "I have been much encouraged," he concludes, "to see the admiration, respect and even reverence, with which every one here speaks of Our Sovereign Lord the Pope." One of the newspapers, *The Gazetteer* of the 21st November, he says, announced his arrival in the following terms: "He has come here on a Mission from the Pope. He is a native of Scotland, who has resided for a long time in Rome, where he has been known for his constant courtesy to his compatriots," etc.

Writing later, on 19th December, Erskine describes his reception by the people he had met as most cordial. He had been informed that Mgr. Douglas (the Vicar Apostolic) had tried to prevent his coming; but was

unsuccessful. He finds that the three most important ministers are in favour of his Mission. Windham and Burke he has already seen and spoken to, and Stuart has written to tell him that he may be sure "of their entire cooperation," and of their good disposition towards his Mission to England.

At the end of the year (1793) Mgr. Erskine went up to Scotland to visit his relations, and from Edinburgh he wrote, on 28th December, to Cardinal Campanelli that he was more than satisfied that his position as Envoy was fully recognized and safe. In every place where he had been received the greatest respect had been paid to him, as the Pope's representative. For example, he says: "I was at dinner in a company not large, but very select, and there amongst others was Lord Thurlow the late Chancellor. He, having asked me what my official position in Rome was, I replied that I was the —Devil's Advocate,—at his service. Then according to the English custom there were toasts drunk. One of these was "to your *Padrone*," to which I added "the Pope," whereupon all joined with the words "to the Pope."

In another letter from the same place, Erskine assures the Cardinal Secretary that the English Government fully understand the difficult position of the Holy See and the impossibility of sending effective help to Toulon, or of raising a loan for the defence of that city, as proposed by Mr. Jenkins. At the moment of writing, he says, there comes the news of the evacuation of Toulon by the English and the destruction of its arsenal by the French Republicans. This is here considered, he adds, not a bad thing, as it frees the allied fleet. Of Mr. Hippisley's influence Erskine speaks very highly: "It is incredible how much and how often he writes, and to how many people."

Parliament opened at Westminster on 22nd January 1794 and Mgr. Erskine returned from Scotland to be

presented at Court by his relative, Lord Kellie. He was also taken by him to a place near the throne in the House of Lords, to hear the King's speech on the opening of Parliament. Erskine informed the Cardinal Secretary of this in a letter, written from London on 17th February 1794, which conveyed the news that the English Government "intend to erect and endow a seminary for Irish Catholic priests, at a cost of 24,000 pounds sterling annually."

To return once more to Mr. Hippisley and his activities in Rome. On 19th January 1794, he forwarded to the Cardinal Secretary for the Pope's perusal, a copy of a letter received from Mr. Windham. He explains that this powerful minister, directly he heard of the arrival of the papal Envoy, had come two hundred miles to welcome him to London. Windham had already on several occasions expressed to Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt his views as to the great importance of establishing relations between England and the Holy See. On meeting Erskine he had at once invited him to dine with him and meet the ministers accredited from other countries, and the reception of Erskine as the Pope's representative by all had been most cordial. Hippisley had been commissioned to convey to the minister the thanks of the Holy Father for his attitude; in reply to which Windham wrote:

"I wish I could find terms more expressive than those which come to my pen, to express how profoundly conscious I am of the high honour the Holy Father has deigned to show me and how much this mark of his condescension in my regard makes me wish for the honour and prosperity of his Government. I am proud at being specially honoured by the regards of the Chief of Christianity and particularly by a Prince, whose sublime rank does not give a greater value to his approbation, than his personal qualities and virtues. I must ask you to choose the most respectful and proper

means of conveying to His Holiness my homage and sincere sentiments towards him."

In conveying this message to the Pope, Hippisley expresses his own great satisfaction in being able to lay at His Holiness' feet " a homage, which comes from a man, who is one of the most accomplished ornaments of the British Parliament, equally distinguished by his brilliant talents, his inflexible uprightness and who has become the favourite and even the idol of his nation."

The Pope himself personally answered this letter of the English agent. He says that he is much touched by the affectionate expressions of Mr. Windham, " a man of rare qualities in a variety of matters and whom we consider as such." As to Mr. Hippisley, the reception of Mgr. Erskine in England, as the Papal Envoy himself declares, is certainly due to his good offices. " Equally with him," the Pope adds, " we acknowledge this with our thanks."

The Holy Father then goes on to speak of the project considered very important by the Holy See, of obtaining for the States of the Church the port of Antibes, should the Pope eventually regain possession of Avignon and Venaissin. He enters into long details as to this scheme, shows how important the port would be to the Holy See and replies to objections to the proposal which Hippisley had already stated to the Cardinal Secretary of State. The Pope sets forth at some length the history of Antibes and concludes that it is not in any way necessary for French commerce, which has many other better harbours, but that for Avignon and Venaissin it would be invaluable.

A communication from Hippisley to the Cardinal dated 18th February 1794, gives the news of the opening of the English Parliament. On the question whether the war should be continued, the voting in the House of Peers was 97 *for* and 12 *against* : in the Commons 277 voted in favour of war and 59 against. A motion

of Lord Stanhope for the recognition of the French Republic was rejected by the same majority. In this letter Hippisley encloses a printed official list of presentations made to the King. Amongst these was that of Mgr. Erskine, described officially as "Envoy Extraordinary from His Holiness the Pope." Erskine in his letter to Hippisley tells him that he was presented to the King on 22nd January, and on the following day to the Queen, by both of whom he was received with great cordiality.

Immediately afterwards the Papal Envoy had a long conversation of five hours with Windham and Edmund Burke, and then in company of the latter he went to the Lord Chancellor and was there invited to dinner with all the diplomats. Erskine insisted upon the absolute necessity for the allied cause of defending Italy against the French, and upon the importance of having frank and open relations with the Pope. On this subject both Windham and Burke were in complete agreement with him. The latter, impressed by the reasons set forth by Mgr. Erskine, told him that he would take the opportunity of setting forth the same points, in a full meeting of Parliament.

Lord Petre, chief of the English Roman Catholics, wrote at this time to Mr. Hippisley, giving many details of the position of Catholic affairs, which the English agent in Rome promised to tell the Cardinal Secretary at their next interview. For the moment, he writes, all he desires to say is that Lord Petre speaks highly of the wise conduct of Mgr. Erskine, and of the high esteem in which he is already held by the Ministers of the Crown. Hippisley concludes this communication by once more complaining of the attitude of certain ecclesiastics to the Mission, with which the Holy Father had entrusted Mgr. Erskine.

A constant correspondence was kept up between the Cardinal Secretary or the pro-Datary, Cardinal Cam-

panelli and Erskine. The latter writes of his interview with ministers, of his impressions and of his reception by the highest personages in the Court and political circles. At one time he speaks of having attended the sessions of the Lords or Commons: at another (4th March 1794) of having been present at the trial of Warren Hastings.

At the first King's levee after his arrival, Erskine met Pitt, who excused himself for not having been able through pressure of business, to receive him before, but promised to do so at the earliest moment. He found time almost immediately after this, for Erskine in the same letter in which he had related the reception given him by the King and Queen and his chance meeting with Pitt, adds his account of his interview with the minister. This was both long and satisfactory. Pitt promised to safeguard the temporal interests of the Holy See as far as Great Britain was able to do so. He desired "to open up communications between the two Courts; but said that for an open correspondence he wished to have a time more propitious, and that at the moment it was necessary to proceed slowly, taking one step after another. Pitt then promised to answer the Cardinal Secretary of State, but wished to have another letter from him, in which no reference was made to Irish affairs. He said that the Ministers fully recognized the good intention of His Holiness in what he had done in this matter, but that in their opinion it was too delicate a point to touch upon, and therefore it would not be wise to express it in a letter, which would remain as an official document. For this reason he promised to reply, if another letter without the article on Ireland were sent.

"Finally he told me," says Erskine, "that the Emperor had proposed to constitute a defensive league of the Princes of Italy, and in case His Holiness were asked to join, he [Pitt] hoped I would let it be known

that this was the wish of His Britannic Majesty and he hoped that His Holiness would assist, if not by arms and money, at least by his name and the influence of his sacred character."

The new letter of the Cardinal to Lord Grenville, without the clause in regard to Ireland, according to the memorandum enclosed in the above, was to be written on the following points: "The object of the Mission was to thank the Government in the name of His Holiness, for the favours shown to the French *émigrés* and to the English Catholic subjects. His Holiness, to show his goodwill towards the English nation, was pleased to give Mr. Hippisley, a member of the British Parliament and British Consul in Rome, at his request, provisions of grain and meat for the use of the English fleet. For this the Holy Father had very willingly given orders, and in this matter as on other occasions Mr. Hippisley has shown his zeal and patriotic spirit, which did him much honour.

"Likewise His Holiness had commissioned Mr. Hippisley to convey his thanks to Lord Hood, the British Admiral, for the courteous messages he had commissioned Mr. Hippisley to make in his name.

"Of all these facts and of the feelings of His Holiness my Lord [Grenville] may be fully informed by Mgr. Erskine, and that His Eminence [the Cardinal Secretary] hopes that this exchange of good offices may be considered as the dawn of an agreement between the two States, too long alienated, whilst it would seem to be in the interest of the subjects of both (and as he hopes that it be the wishes of their sovereigns) to live in friendly relations, under the sanction of the laws."

Towards the end of May 1794, Mgr. Erskine was occupied in treating with the English Government—that is to say, with Lord Grenville—as to some ecclesiastical difficulties, which had arisen in the island of Corsica, then in the possession of the English. Sir Gilbert Elliot,

afterwards Lord Minto, had for a brief time been Civi Commissioner at Toulon. On the evacuation of tha port by the English on 20th November 1793, he wa appointed to the same office in Corsica, when, with th consent of the inhabitants, the British assumed th protectorate of the island in May 1794. The Roma ecclesiastical authorities had information that th French, when holding possession of the island, ha changed the old system of Church government. The had suppressed Episcopal Sees, closed religious houses etc., and appointed a Bishop to rule, according to thei republican ideas. When it became known that th English were to take over the Government, Erskin was directed by the Cardinal Secretary of State t present to Lord Grenville a memorial setting fort these circumstances and pointing out to him the dange of supporting the new form of religious government as in troduced by the French. This he did, accompanying th memorial by a letter to the Minister on 20th April 1794

The Cardinal Secretary replied to the letter of Mgr Erskine in regard to his interview with Pitt and th suggested revision of the letter of credence, on 5th Apri of this year 1794. He said that he would at once send th new letter for Lord Grenville, with the clause to whic objection had been made omitted. As to the propose defensive league of Italian princes, he says that th documents already sent will have shown that non of the Princes in Italy would have been more promp to send to Milan to treat of such a league than the Pope but that the plain fact was that no notices whateve so far had been sent out, and none of the other Prince in Italy had been asked about the matter. "None o these rulers however appear to take much interest i the question; but the Holy Father will do what lies i him should the subject be seriously mooted. He i ready to do what Mr. Pitt suggests, namely assist it i not with men and money, at least with his name an the influence of his sacred character."

A news-letter from a Mr. Udney, the English Consul at Leghorn, to Mr. Hippisley, dated 14th March 1794, is interesting as giving notice of the British attack on Corsica. "General Dundas arrived here," he writes, "last night to my great surprise. Lord Hood is determined to take Bastia at any cost, but at the moment he has too few troops, and rain and snow have prevented operations up to the present. I hope that Admiral Parker, with the vessels and frigates he commands, will prevent any help coming from Toulon to Calvi, and that he will intercept the vessels of war, which were to have left Tunis last week. . . .

"Captain Welson commanding the *Agamemnon*, writes to me from Bastia that on the 12th he examined all the French positions, some of which are very strong though not impregnable. Bad weather has not yet allowed him to direct the fire of his vessel against a battery, which is on the north of the city, which must be destroyed as it serves to keep the Corsican army from the point. Fifteen hundred Corsicans, without the need of using cannon, hold the French and prevent them from making any progress in the country."

On the same subject Sir William Hamilton, British Minister at Naples, writes to Mr. Hippisley on 5th of April. "My letters from Lord Hood tell me that he is going to attack Bastia, though the opinion of General d'Auban was against it. In consequence his success will chiefly depend on marines and sailors. He needs many things we have furnished in 24 hours from the Arsenal at Naples and Gaeta. The *Romney*, an English man of war leaves this morning with all we have supplied. Unfortunately the Jacobin conspiracy here prevents troops being sent." This memorandum was immediately sent by Mr. Hippisley for the information of the Holy Father.

On 7th May 1794, Hippisley wrote to Sir Gilbert Elliot on behalf of the Cardinal Secretary to introduce a Roman ecclesiastic, Mgr. Albani, brother of the Prince

Albani and nephew of the Cardinal. Mgr. Albani had been appointed to represent the Pope at any Congress which might be held at Milan to consider the very critical state of affairs in Italy. The English agent adds at the end of the letter: "I thank God that I was the first to bring about open communications between this Government and ours, after relations had been so long interrupted. Some time ago I sent you a copy of the letter of Lord Grenville to Mgr. Erskine. His Excellency has likewise assured this Prelate that he would write directly to the Secretary of State in reply to a letter he had lately received."

On the 20th of this same month, Hippisley reported to Cardinal De Zelada the reception of a letter from Erskine, written on the 29th of April. In it he says that "he had that moment received Your Eminence's letter to Lord Grenville, and at the same time he gives me the pleasing intelligence that on the motion of Mr. Fox the Catholics were freed in the session of 28th of April, from the obligation of taking the oath, which hitherto prevented their giving their votes at the election of members of Parliament. This measure was passed unanimously." "I have also," continues Hippisley, "had letters from two members of Parliament, who say that the presence of Mgr. Erskine and the honourable reception which he has had from all parties, have directly contributed to facilitate the passing of this important measure, as also that which was passed some months back to discharge the Catholics from the double tax. Mgr. Erskine's modesty would probably prevent him from speaking of this; but as to me it is impossible not to give this prelate the praise that is due to him. One of the members of Parliament, who have written to me, noted that the King, the Queen and all the Royal family have shown extraordinary kindnesses to Mgr. Erskine; and the Prelate, having had the honour of reading to the Queen Your Eminence's letter on the

reception of our troops at Civitavecchia, Her Majesty had manifested the greatest pleasure . . . . Here, Monseigneur Cardinal is a fresh occasion, very pleasing to me, to present my humble congratulations to His Holiness and his worthy minister upon the happy progress of an affair, which they have conducted with such wisdom." Enclosed in this letter is a memorandum of the conditions of the treaty made by Great Britain, Holland and Prussia, which were proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Pitt, and agreed to by Parliament on the 28th April 1794. Prussia was to be paid £300,000 to put an army of 62,000 men in marching order, and an additional £100,000 when it was ready to take the field. The annual payment for these troops by England would be £1,400,000 sterling.

In the same month the indefatigable Mr. Hippisley, after saying that he had sent all the documents concerning the English regiment actually at Civitavecchia, adds an extract from a recent communication received from Mgr. Erskine, dated 7th March. The Monsignor writes: "I have just come from Mr. Windham. Having spoken of the object of the Mission he said that he hoped that I should not soon be recalled. Lord Carnarvon, the Duke of Leeds and the Lord Chancellor have said the same thing to me. Last night I was at a great party, at the Minister of Portugal, and when the Prince of Wales came into the salon I was talking to the Minister of Vienna. Seeing me, he did me the honour of coming towards me. He asked news of His Holiness and congratulated me on my promotion.* On my saying to him that I feared that this might accelerate my return, he was pleased to answer that—this must not be too soon, and then he added: You will be a Cardinal; certainly you will be a Cardinal.—I replied that I had already received so much from His Holiness that there

* Erskine was made *Uditore* of the Pope in the Secret Consistory, 21st February 1794.

was nothing I might not hope from his goodness to me, though I had done nothing to deserve it. The Prince replied: Without doubt you will be a Cardinal, and I shall be glad to see you one.

" I did not say anything to my friend the Cardinal (Campanelli) about this part of my conversation in my letter to him.

" The Prince continued to talk for a long time to me and in the most affable and gracious way. The following day, at Lady Campbell's, he himself presented me to his friend Mrs. Fitzherbert. He also introduced me to Lord Clermont, saying that he was his great friend and the Gentleman of the Chamber. In naming me he said:—Mr. Erskine, who came here on the Pope's behalf.—To say the truth, I find I am received and treated by everyone as the Envoy of His Holiness."

The affairs of Corsica were again the subject of conversations between the Cardinal Secretary of State and Mr. Hippisley in the May of this year, 1794. On the 28th the latter writes saying that it was now determined that the island should be under the protection of England and the Government be in the hands of a council, with General Paoli at its head. The various questions regarding the clergy " will be in good hands and the Roman authorities have a friend in the person of Sir Gilbert Elliot."

On 6th June 1794, Hippisley communicated to the Cardinal Secretary that he had just heard from London that the Bill for giving the vote to Catholics had been suspended till the next session of Parliament. The measure had passed the first two readings unanimously, but when it came up for the third reading, it was observed by some one that the times were too critical to make so important a change. " Mr. Burke and many other members spoke in favour of the Bill, but Mr. Pitt, who had also voted for the measure at the first two readings, thought that it had better be suspended."

The fact was, as Hippisley told the Cardinal: "Great alarm had been spread over the Kingdom by the discovery of a conspiracy of two secret societies, which occupied the whole attention of the ministers and Parliament," and was the reason for holding up this measure of justice to Catholics, as also another proposal to be made by Mr. Sheridan to admit Catholics to the army.

"I," continues Hippisley, "would point out to Your Eminence that no one in the Chamber spoke against the *principle* of the Bill, or its substance, which would certainly have passed with unanimity had it not been for the alarm caused by the discovered conspiracy."

During the month of June, the Cardinal was furnished with extracts of many letters which gave accounts of the sailing of the French fleet from Toulon for the relief of Corsica; of the pursuit of Lord Hood; and also of several engagements between the forces. On the 15th, news came from Leghorn that 9 French ships of the line, 6 frigates with 5,000 men for the proposed landing at Calvi, were blockaded in the Bay of Santa Margherita by an English fleet of 15 ships of the line and 10 frigates.

On the 17th of June a communication of another kind reached the British agent in Rome. On that day Sir William Hamilton, the Minister at Naples, wrote about an eruption of Vesuvius which had taken place the previous Sunday. It had shaken the city to its foundations, the lava had run down the mountain to a distance of four miles and had almost entirely overwhelmed Torre del Greco. "It is feared that a great part of the inhabitants have been buried alive under the ruins. I saw this morning a stream of lava, which had formed a new promontory to the sea and the water was so hot that at a distance of 400 paces, I could not hold my hand in it: a little nearer it was evidently boiling. At this moment we are in a dense mist and the continual noise of the mountain threatens fresh

disasters. If this explosion of lava had not taken place the city of Naples would have been buried in an earthquake."

In sending this account to Cardinal Campanelli, Hippisley reminds him that Sir William Hamilton "is the great authority on Vesuvius and for thirty one years has been engaged upon the scientific examination of its eruptions."

A letter dated 22nd June 1794, from Hippisley, informs the Cardinal that Mr. Windham, according to the *Official Gazette* of London, is about to become a Minister of State in the place of Mr. Dundas, who had occupied the post only for a time. In the same communication he encloses the draft of a history of the sufferings of the French clergy, by the Abbé Barruel,* which is being translated into English. In his Preface the Abbé says: "By a wonderful effect of Providence the French clergy have been the happy cause of drawing together the Holy See and England which for more than two centuries had had no sort of communication."

The conduct of that portion of the clergy, who had found refuge in England, and the enthusiasm which had inspired that generous nation, the Catholic religion being better understood by seeing the reality before their eyes by a people who were prejudiced against it, and finally, the interest that they took in the persons who had fled to them and whom they helped: all tended to lead to the point where they stand to-day, where the attitude of the people towards the Court of Rome is very different from that which led up to the scenes witnessed in 1780.

"The truly magnanimous way in which the Court and all classes of the British nation has acted towards these ecclesiastics was quickly brought to the attention of the Common Father of the Faithful. Various Briefs and Letters in which were expressed the feeling of his

* *Histoire du clergé de France.*

heart and the greatness of his soul addressed to Ministers, Admirals and other English Officials, were the first steps taken by His Holiness to manifest his gratitude and paternal concern for everything which could contribute to the relief of both the French Catholics and their brethren of England."

"Fortunately," continues the memorandum of the Abbé Barruel, "there was at this time in Rome a member of the British Parliament, endowed with great activity and full of resource. He interested himself actively in the lot of the French *émigrés* and did not weary by letters, notes and example to influence the general movement in their favour. Respected by the chief members of the committee formed for the help of the *émigrés*, an intimate friend of the President of the Committee, the worthy recipient of the confidence of his Government as well as honoured by the goodness of the Holy Father and the friendship of his Ministers, Mr. Hippisley became the centre of the correspondence, which was established between the benefactors of the French clergy.

"In this way the barriers were broken and the dividing wall, that had so long separated Rome from London, was, if not wholly overthrown, at least passed over without difficulty, a mutual confidence was established and the two powers came to understand that they had one object of mutual interest."

In a short time Hippisley found himself asked on the one side to assure the Holy Father of the constant protection that would be given to his States by the English fleet, to ask from the Pope favours, which were to be expected from a friendly power, and to lay at his feet the expression of the thanks and admiration of the chief officials, military and civil, as well as of other illustrious personages of his nation. On the other hand, the English agent became in regard to his own countrymen, the interpreter of the lively appreciation of the

Holy Father for all that the English Court and Nation had done for the emigrant clergy and for the Catholics of England, and to assure them of the Pope's desire to do all he could in return. " These and like sentiments and methods of action served to immortalize Pius VI, who rising above strong existing prejudices has secured the veneration and (if it may be said) the tender regard of a people so long hostile to Rome."

The writer then goes on to speak of the great work of conciliation already effected by Mgr. Erskine in breaking down prejudices and forming friendships. But, he adds, " even this is due to the constant care of Mr. Hippisley."

At this time the English Catholic residents in Rome presented Hippisley with an address of thanks for all he had done to bring about cordial relations between the Holy See and the English Government. " We have seen," they say, " the great Pius VI generously give all that his States could provide in the way of provisions for the British fleet, and this at a time of great scarcity in the country; and we have equally witnessed the testimony of lively gratitude and recognition to the Court of Rome by those who commanded the forces for His Majesty. We have seen again a regiment of English dragoons received with distinct honours in the States of His Holiness and for three months treated with the most friendly care. You, Sir, (*i.e.* Hippisley) were chosen to be the channel through which His Holiness has deigned to convey to our fellow countrymen the gracious testimony of his satisfaction at their excellent conduct, and in the name of the Holy Father to present a gold medal to each of the officers. It was very pleasing to observe that by a happy chance this regiment had the name of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and that its two chief commanders, General Stuart and Colonel Erskine, are relations of your own and of the respected Uditore of His Holiness, Mgr. Erskine, your intimate friend for many years and at

present your companion in the great cause in which you are concerned."

"We have heard with the greatest joy of the honourable welcome given to this Prelate in England by the Royal family and the Ministers, and our hearts are filled with thanksgiving as we have heard that since his arrival in England a Bill has been carried for the relief of our Catholic brethren, relieving them from the double tax imposed on them, and that another Bill to restore to them the great privilege of voting at the elections, which is much prized by every Englishman, has been proposed and only delayed by certain circumstances."

The writers of this memorial then go on to express their belief that the laws against the Catholics were wholly unjust, because they were made to apply to a body ever faithful to their King. Equally unjust they consider the hatred of the Holy See, manifested in many of the English laws.

"A simple and exact statement of the principles, inculcated by the Sacred Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* in all its letters and admonitions to the Catholic subjects of His Majesty, are sufficient to prove that it is unjust to draw general conclusions for any isolated fact and to confound the action of the *Court* of Rome in purely political matters two centuries back, with the constant teaching and discipline of our Church. Faithful obedience to established Government and respectful submission to those invested with authority are the necessary rules of conduct, which have been most warmly inculcated."

The memorialists conclude by asking Mr. Hippisley to believe that they are sincerely grateful for all he has done to bring about a better understanding between the Minister of the English Sovereign and the Pope and his Ministers.

The signatures to this document are interesting. They

are Rev. Val. Bodkin, Doctor in Theology and Laws and agent for the Bishops and secular clergy of Ireland; the Rev. I. Weyburn, Professor of Theology and Superior of the Irish Franciscans in Rome, in the name of all the community; Rev. I. Connolly, Doct. of Theology and Superior of the Irish Dominicans in Rome in the name of the whole community; the Rev. P. Macpherson, agent of the Bishops and clergy of Scotland; Rev. F. Luke Concanen, Doctor of the College of Casanate [*sic*] and secretary of the General of the Dominicans, and agent of the Archbishops of Ireland in Rome; the Rev. P. Crane, Prof. of Theology and Rector of the Irish Augustinians in Rome, in the name of all the community; the Rev. R. Smelt, agent of the Bishops and clergy of England; G. Harris, student in the English College in the name of all the students; J. H. Mac-Dermont, student in the Irish College in the name of all the students; J. Maclaughlan, student in the Scots' College in the name of all the students; Rev. J. Connel, Secretary of Cardinal Rinuccini and agent of the English College at Liège; Rev. N. Thompson Canon Regular of the Redemption of Captives in his name and in that of Rev. B. Murphy; J. Macdonald student in the College of Propaganda Fide, in his name and in that of all the British students of the College.

On 23rd of June 1794, Hippisley appeals to the Cardinal Secretary of State to obtain more provisions for Lord Hood. This was done at the request of Mr Udney, the British agent at Leghorn, who had heard that the Pope had allowed General Erskine to have 200 beasts for the army. "Lord Hood will be greatly disappointed in his hopes, if on his return to Leghorn he does not find fresh provisions for his deserving sailors. Lord Hood presses me in his letters to secure these, and I feel sure His Holiness will consider how much the security of Italy depends upon these brave and good men of the British Navy."

On the 1st of July, Mgr. Erskine writes about a visit to Portsmouth to witness the King's review of Lord Howe's fleet. "It was a sight worth seeing," he says, "especially the launch of a new ship, and the salute of all the ships, as the King passed down the line. It gave one the idea of a battle, at least as some of the officials told me, but in the proportion of one to three. On Saturday I was on board the Admiral's ship *Queen Charlotte*, where I was shown everything. I remained late so as to hear from a ship the effect of a cannonade, but an accident, difficult to believe, did not let me hear this. The King with the Queen and the Royal Princesses had gone for a sail on the frigate *Eagle*. With him were Lord Howe and all the chief officers of the fleet; but on the point of the Isle of Wight the frigate ran on a shoal and remained there till 10 o'clock at night, and since no salute is fired after sunset, I did not have the effect I hoped for.

"The Cardinal Secretary of State's letter about the English soldiers in Italy and about the gold medal the Pope had given to the officers I have presented to Lord Grenville and a copy to Lord Amherst, Commander in Chief of the Army." The replies sent (now not in private but officially) "show that we may consider the correspondence between the two Courts opened." In Lord Grenville's letter there is a special point to remark: "after my name there are three etceteras, as is usual in the case of ministers." Erskine says in the same letter that he is doing all in his power to heal the divisions among Catholics. He has persuaded Lord Petre to go and visit Mgr. Douglas, with whom he has not had relations for a long period, and Throckmorton has promised him to stop writing his pamphlets.

In the middle of the month (July) Mgr. Erskine went to visit Oxford and was loud in his praises of all he saw. He was well received everywhere and invited to dine at Christ Church, founded by Cardinal Wolsey. "I

accepted," he writes, " so as to be the first—at least I think so—of my character, who has dined there since the fall of the Founder." The Monsignore was also pleased to find that at Oxford there was a chapel, or rather a little church, being built for the Catholics which was nearly finished. He praises the priest, a certain Mr. Casley, by whose energy the money has been got together, and he suggests that to encourage him the Cardinal Secretary might be disposed to get some help from the Holy Father for the work.

In his next letter (July 22nd) Erskine speaks of the campaign in the Opposition press against the Ministry. The *Morning Chronicle* has attacked, not the person of the Pope but the Papacy in general, " and last Saturday it maintained that this war was being waged to uphold the tottering Papacy; that the King of France had lost his crown and his life because he allowed himself to be seduced by papal agents, etc.; that it was contrary to the nature of a Protestant nation (England) and contrary to its ideas of liberty and religion to prop up Rome." It was an article intended to inflame the passions of the people, as Lord George Gordon had done in 1780. Fortunately it produced no ill effect; but at this time great prudence was evidently necessary. Meanwhile he had been able, he says, to converse at length with the ministers as to Corsica.

In subsequent letters the British Envoy returns to the Corsican question and says that he has the assurance of the Minister, at last, that the spiritual government shall be settled in accordance with the views of the Holy See.

A letter from Cardinal Campanelli to Mgr. Erskine begins by saying " this morning (5 July 1794) the Holy Father said:—Write to Mgr. Erskine, and in my name tell him that he is worthy of all praise for having given the news of the signal naval victory gained by Admiral Lord Howe—"

In writing to Hippisley on behalf of the Cardinal Secretary, Cardinal Campanelli says that he—the Secretary of State—had written a letter to Lord Hood and accompanied it with a present of a copy of the *Museo Pio-Clementino*, as Hippisley had suggested. He adds that the Pope is not at all content with the proposed Constitution for Corsica, especially in regard to its religious clauses, which are modelled upon the Civil Constitution for the French clergy. He begs Mr. Hippisley to insist with the English Government upon this being changed, which, as just noted, had already been done.

On the 30th of June of this year, Lord Hood writes from on board the *Victory* to quiet the alarms which had arisen from a report of the escape of some French vessels from Toulon. A copy of this note was immediately sent to the Pope. "As I hear," writes Hood, "that all Italy is alarmed about a second division of vessels of Toulon, I am pleased to assure you that these reports are unfounded, and I have the honour to tell you that on the 18th the French only had one guardship in the port of Toulon, and this was absolutely unfit to take to sea. So that it is impossible that they could send out five vessels, not even in five months' time. I thought that this notice would be welcome and for this reason I send it expressly for the information of His Holiness."

With this letter Hippisley sent the Cardinal Secretary an extract from the *Histoire du Clergé de France* by the Abbé Barruel. It was the expression of the gratitude of the 8,000 priests, who had taken refuge in England from the Revolution, for the wonderful charity with which they had been received. A printed copy of an inscription to commemorate this charity, which had been placed in 1793 in the Chapel of the King's House, Winchester, is still folded in this letter.

In the July of 1794, Mr. Hippisley went on business to

Ancona. He was to make a tour of inspection of the country, so as to be able to report on the natural resources of the Papal States to the British Government. He sought and obtained from the Cardinal Secretary of State letters containing every requisite permission. He appears to have been specially interested in the production of hemp, which he thought could be increased greatly in this part of Italy. In writing to Rome, he suggested that the port of Ancona required considerable attention, since, even after great sums of money had been spent on it by the Pope, it was in no ways improved. He suggested that, as at Genoa, where things were going from bad to worse until the authorities got an English engineer to study the question, so at Ancona it would be most useful to obtain the same opinion before it was too late, and he mentions that like difficulties had been experienced at Ramsgate and that these had been entirely overcome.

From Ancona Hippisley forwarded a note he had received from Lord Hood written on board the *Victory*, giving the following information: "I have left Vice Admiral Hotham, with a superior force, to hold the blockade of the French squadron, so that the States of Italy need not have any fear of an attack. Through bodily fatigue and anxiety of mind I find my constitution so undermined that I am incapable of continuing to command His Majesty's fleet in these waters and must ask for leave to return to England. What is most annoying to me is that I am deprived of the honour of presenting my respects personally to the Pope. No one can have a deeper veneration for His Holiness than I have." In communicating this note to the Cardinal Secretary, Hippisley notes that Lord Hood had on six or seven occasions directly sent news of interest of importance to the Holy Father.

At the beginning of August of this same year, 1794 Hippisley, still writing from Ancona, sends to the

Cardinal a copy of a letter from France, giving a sad account of the state of the country, then in the Reign of Terror under Robespierre. He again returns to the question of Corsica, saying that he thinks it would be difficult for the English Government to take any active part in ecclesiastical affairs. "In every conquered country," he says, "where the people are Roman Catholic, the English have always left the Church conditions in the same form, in which they found them. Your Eminence will remember that Lord Hood, speaking of Bastia, where the English flag had been raised, authorized me to tell you that the establishments of the Church would not be touched. If as conquerors we had taken the entire island this would have been our policy. Now, however, that the country has determined to come under the protection of England, it is not so easy, in view of the Convocation of the Assembly of free Corsicans, to enforce absolutely what the Holy See desires." Hippisley nevertheless is sure that the views of Sir Gilbert Elliot and of Mr. Burke are the same as those of the Pope, and he strongly urges that in any letters on the subject there should be quotations made from the works of Edmund Burke on the Revolution, which had become a classic. He advises that together with any Briefs of the Holy Father on this matter, a printed selection of passages from the works should be sent. For this purpose he forwards an Italian translation of the first work and a French edition of the second.

To Mr. Windham Hippisley had written, that apparently some in England are rejoicing at the chance of a schism in Corsica, as having some relation to a general change of religion in that island; but that he (Windham) was too well informed about the history of our country and about mankind generally to imagine that, once the Corsicans had broken their relations with the Holy See on a question of dogma, they could be considered as being good Protestants.

In replying to Hippisley's letters, the Cardinal Secretary thanks him for his advice regarding the best way to manage the difficult question of Corsica. This advice the Holy Father will take. He will base his reasons against the ecclesiastical changes on the Briefs he has issued against the French changes and he proposes to make great use of Mr. Burke's arguments taken from the books, which he thanks Mr. Hippisley heartily for having sent. The Cardinal thanks him also for what he has written about the port of Ancona and the Holy Father is by no means averse to obtaining the advice of the celebrated Mr. Smeaton, who has been so successful in the case of the port of Ramsgate.

On 3rd October 1794, Mgr. Erskine wrote to the Cardinal Secretary to tell him that the English Government did not see its way to interfere actively in the religious questions of Corsica. It was suggested that the Holy See should come to some arrangement with the Corsicans and the British Government would back it up. With this letter Erskine forwards the official reply of Lord Grenville to the Cardinal's letter. He also acknowledges the reception of copies of the Pope's Bull condemning the Synod of Pistoia, one of which he will give to Mgr. Douglas.

A month previously—on 8th September—Cardinal Campanelli had written to Mgr. Erskine expressing the Holy Father's pleasure at hearing his account of the good dispositions of the English Government in regard to the innovations in prejudice of religion, proposed by the Corsicans, and their action against priests and religious. He begs Mgr. Erskine to insist upon the return of the legitimate priests to the island, as their absence is very hurtful. The Pope, he continues, was much interested in your account of the long talk you had with the Duke of Portland, and the Holy Father desires to thank him and the King for their sentiments in regard to " the Catholic religion in the Kingdom, in the con

quered islands, and in that of Corsica." He has every confidence that they will oppose all novelties in that State, which came in merely as Republican innovations. Now " as to the change that for just reasons is now to be made in regard to the Visitor Apostolic of the conquered islands, the Holy Father is always desirous, as far as possible to meet the wishes of the Government. He approves the agreement wisely made by the Duke and you, and will wait for the note on the various proposed people, in order to choose the most fitting. In this way it is hoped to open the way for future relations with advantage and honour to both Courts.

" For your private information I may say that of the three people named by the Duke, that is to say, the Bishops of Amiens, Boulogne and Troyes, according to our present information the first would be the best. I would add for your own instruction that it would be well not to use the term *nominate*, which is not the correct expression to use even for Catholic Princes, when speaking of a Vicar Apostolic or other ecclesiastical minister to be appointed by the Holy See. The term *suggestion*, *request* or *information* is more appropriate, and would equally satisfy the Government. This is the just remark of the Holy Father himself, which I pass on to you, whilst at the same time in his name I give you the highest praise for the wise way in which you have conducted all your business and in particular the conversation referred to."

At the beginning of October, Hippisley was able to send some satisfactory news about the Corsican business. He had received a letter from Sir Gilbert Elliot in which he says that the Constitution now proposed simply declares " that all matters (with regard to Bishops' sees, parishes, etc.) are to be agreed upon between the Corsican Parliament and the Pope," and he believes that nothing prejudicial to religion will be attempted. He adds: " If the communication between the two

Courts (of Rome and England) was recognized by the law, the case would be essentially different, and when this happy consummation is effected, then will be the time for the Court of Rome to consider how directly and officially to expose all it has to say upon the temporal rights of the Holy See in Corsica."

Meanwhile the only way open is for Mgr. Erskine to ask for a conference on the matter with Lord Grenville. "Possibly having been warned as to the object of the interview, his Lordship may have a difficulty in granting such a meeting, but the request will be sufficient to show the anxiety of His Holiness."

Together with this letter Hippisley encloses a copy of another note received from Lord Hood, written from "On board the *Victory*, anchored in the port of Spezia." He desires to thank Cardinal De Zelada for his letter and the present he has sent him in the Pope's name.

"This present (valuable as it is in itself) I consider not so much for its value, as a pledge of the friendship and esteem of a virtuous Sovereign." He adds that he has now received permission to depart for England for a short time, and hopes to recover his health in "passing a few weeks at the baths of Bath."

On 11th November (1794) Mgr. Erskine wrote a long letter to the Cardinal, which is of exceptional interest as showing the relations which then existed between him and the British Government. A portion of this letter may be here translated. He writes: "Not contented with the reply I received through Mgr. Douglas, whom I had sent to His Excellency the Duke of Portland, Secretary of State for Home affairs, so as to give him (Douglas) the opportunity of seeing him for the first time, I determined to go yesterday myself to the Duke. I had a long conversation with him, and a very satisfactory one on the present matter with hopes of even greater satisfaction in the future. I told him, without making any mystery about it, that the

faculties for Mgr. de Cominges had arrived; that His Holiness, sincerely desiring to second the wishes of the Court here, had determined to carry out this matter at once. That for this reason the faculties had come sooner than I expected, and that as I did not wish to have any difficulty as to the mission of Mgr. de Cominges, for this reason I had taken the step (believing that the Pope would approve of this under the circumstances) of not handing the faculties to the Bishop, until I had assured myself that no objection would be raised. . . . Mgr. Douglas had, after his interview, told me that there was in fact some objection. For this reason I had come to ask His Excellency if possible to communicate to me the ground of the objection, so that I might be in a position to explain the matter to the Holy See. The Duke replied that he was most sensible and so was His Majesty of the friendly anxiety of His Holiness to second the just wishes of His Majesty. He thanked me for having suspended the issuing of the faculties, since in this way I had freed them from an embarrassing situation, which should not have arisen. He begged me to make his excuses to His Holiness for this change, but he hoped that in view of the reasons, the Holy Father would excuse him; adding that His Holiness might be assured of the uprightness of their intentions and of their desire that the Catholic Religion should be maintained pure and intact in the British dominions. A proof of this was to be found in this very change now under discussion. Here in substance he told me openly, that having thought of sending an ecclesiastical dignitary to bring order, or rather to renew the spirit of the Catholic religion in the conquered islands, he was directed to Mgr. de St. Pol, and Mgr. de Cominges was proposed by him for the office. The first time the latter was presented to him he had shown by a certain haughty behaviour that he was not adapted for so important and difficult a duty, for which

he was destined, and that, having afterwards obtained information, his suspicion that Mgr. de Cominges was not the person was confirmed. For such a Work there was needed, he said, a zealous and exemplary man and, in a word, an Apostolic ecclesiastic. He had consequently told the Prelate so; and having learnt that the Bishop's family had many relations in the islands, he had come to the conclusion that his presence there would be a subject of jealousy for one or other of the parties, and that instead of resulting in securing the spiritual good it would cause difficulties both spiritual and temporal. Furthermore, that as one part of his present diocese was in Spain, it would be a delicate matter to send him to the islands, without coming to some agreement with the Court of Spain, which under the circumstances was not possible."

With regard to his own position, Mgr. Erskine says that he was disposed to tell Mgr. de Cominges that the faculties had arrived, since he will have already heard directly from his friends in Rome, but to say that he (Mgr. Erskine) had not yet had any orders to hand them to him. "From this affair I came to the conclusion that it was necessary to induce the Government here, when they have to treat of another *nominee*, not to propose any name before they have ascertained the views of the Holy See. I consequently said to the Duke," continues Erskine, "that it was always difficult to have either well founded or impartial information; and that since the wish of His Majesty and his own was to provide for the preservation of the Catholic religion by means of good Pastors, I begged him to reflect if the best method for securing this would not be to have an understanding with the Holy See, which was always interested solely in the choice of good subjects, and since it was the centre, etc., was naturally better informed of the character and the merits of everyone. I told him the present case showed that it was necessary to have good

information before acting, and how useful was this suggestion of mine.

" I also begged him to think of what might be an even more difficult case. Supposing,—I said—that His Holiness had any canonical objection against the person of Mgr. de Cominges, or against some other person nominated by His Majesty. In such an eventuality His Holiness could not grant the faculties requested and then what would happen? This Government would not wish and could not oblige His Holiness to act against his conscience. Would it perhaps send the person nominated or permit him to go without his faculties? Here there would be things contradictory in themselves. Does it not therefore follow that such a nomination would be useless and that it would be necessary to proceed to the choice of another subject? To avoid these and similar inconveniences, I drew the conclusion that it would be always proper, and I would even say necessary, to agree with Rome (previously) on the person to be nominated.

" The Duke entered most reasonably into all I had said and told me that we must agree together on the choice of a new subject. He named the Bishop of Boulogne-sur-Mer, that of Amiens and that of Troyes. I said that as to this I could not say anything without the determination of the Holy Father and I hope that he will send me the list, so that I may forward it for the Pope's final decision."

After this the talk passed on to the subject of Corsica and on this the Minister said " that His Holiness might be assured that here as elsewhere the Court would take every measure necessary to preserve the Catholic Religion, such as it was before the introduction of the fatal French innovations. He told me that the patent for the nomination of Sir Gilbert Elliot as Viceroy in Corsica, had just been forwarded to him."

Mr. Hippisley left Italy in 1796. For some time he

had been in bad health and had been obliged to make use of the services of his daughter in his correspondence. Meanwhile Mgr. Erskine continued to correspond regularly with the Cardinal Secretary of State. The Revolution was no longer confined to France and war was kindled in Piedmont, Austria, Spain, and England. In May, 1795, it was rumoured that the allied Powers contemplated calling a Congress to discuss the possibility of a general peace, and the Pope determined to take timely measures to have a representative in such a Congress to uphold the rights of the Catholic Religion and in defence of the Papal States already invaded at Avignon and Venaissin. Pius VI chose Erskine as his representative, and the official appointment was sent to him on 6th June 1795.

Although, in consequence of disagreements among the allied Powers, this proposed Congress never took place, the credentials addressed to Mgr. Erskine gave him a position as Envoy Extraordinary, which was most useful to him. In June of this same year (1795) the Society of Antiquaries in London forwarded to His Holiness a copy of a volume on *Roman Military Antiquities* compiled by the Society, and Pius VI wrote to Erskine to convey his thanks to the Society. In this same letter the Pope expresses his sense of loss at the death of Cardinal Campanelli, Erskine's true friend and constant correspondent.

"It is unnecessary," writes Mezière Brady,* "to enter into details of the French occupation of Rome and the brutal violence practised on the person of Pius VI, who rashly consented to the treaty of Tolentino, made under compulsion, on the 19th of February 1797. Previously to that time the Pope had been violently stripped of the greater part of his dominions and was virtually a prisoner, soon to become one in dread reality, and he was helpless before Bonaparte.

* *Memoirs of Cardinal Erskine*, p. 139.

The events of the sad years 1796 and 1797 threw additional labours upon the shoulders of Erskine. As Great Britain had more open intercourse with foreign parts, London became a centre of correspondence between Erskine and the Papal Nuncios in Madrid, Lisbon, Vienna, the Rhine, and Holland. He wrote frequent dispatches to Monsignors Casoni, Pacca, Ruffo, Della Ganga, and Brancadoro. His Vienna dispatches were sent sometimes through the hands of Marchese de Circelli, Neapolitan Minister at London, and sometimes through Mr. Canning, then Under Secretary of State; and very often in these roundabout ways he contrived to send letters to Rome and the Pope, as also to the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Giuseppe Doria.

On 16th March 1798, Pope Pius VI wrote a long letter to Mgr. Erskine from Siena, which is of pathetic interest, and deserves to be read in its entirety. After thanking the Monsignore for the present of a service of English table linen and some razors, the Holy Father continues: "We have said that we received your kind present in this place of *exile*, because the French force compelled Us to decamp from Rome, declaring that the civil Government belonged to the people. The first step which the French took at the opening of the Revolution was to burn Us in effigy, in Paris. Next they possessed themselves of Avignon and Venaissin, and then they seized the three provinces of Bologna, Ferrara and the Romagna, and, piece by piece, they took all the rest, so that of all our Sovereignty nothing remains to Us save the memory. The war, for them so fortunate, is a war against Religion, for they perpetrated a thousand sacrilegious outrages against the Church—as the late Bishop of Spires wrote to Us—against the priests and friars, confiscating their property. And this was the system which they have always pursued, and still continue to pursue in Rome. They found out a pretended excuse in the circumstance that General Duphôt was

killed by Our civil troops; but his death was in consequence of his own attempt to force their quarters and disperse them. They resisted, as was their duty, and in the confusion shots were fired, and a bullet happened to kill the General. This is the undeniable truth, as results from the Process instituted by Our Secretary of State. But they have determined to colour all their iniquities by this pretext, in order to carry into execution the plan they had concerted beforehand, which was to impose intolerable contributions, to quarter their soldiers by compulsion, forcing poor families, who could scarcely feed themselves, to entertain officers, soldiers and horses. Several prelates were arrested in Castel S. Angelo and sent to the Convent of the Convertite, in the Borgo, as hostages for six or seven Cardinals who are to be banished—they say—to Sicily, and have already been sent to Civitavecchia. If maltreatment had been offered to the French, there might be excuse for them, but in reality every attention and consideration was shewn them.

"Before entering Rome they gave assurances in writing that the form of Government would not be changed; but at their very first ingress, they insisted that the keys of the City gates and of Castel S. Angelo should be consigned to them. Before Our forced departure, they placed guards within the innermost rooms of Our apartment, put seals on Our presses, and carried away everything there was of any value. They despoiled the Vatican of its most precious monuments such as statues, pictures and codices; and they did the same in many private houses, notwithstanding their declaration that all property would be safe.

"We Ourselves determined not to leave Our residence —whatever might be the cost—taking into consideration Our age, over eighty years, Our state of convalescence after a malady of the duration of two years and a half, which took away the use of Our feet. But it was

not possible for Us to obtain the favour of remaining, as they threatened to make Us leave the Palace by force, so that we were obliged to drink the bitter cup and to go out from Our States, and retire, as they ordered, to the dominions of Tuscany. Could greater barbarity be shown? On leaving the Palace, which was before day, we found at the foot of the grand staircase an escort of seventy Dragoons and two Commissaries. The Commissaries accompanied Us all the way here to Siena, though the guards on horseback were dismissed at the end of the first stage.

"Now although We quite understand that in London you cannot bring to the front religious motives, yet such motives when they involve questions of Sovereignty and the rights of nations, must make a strong impression. And for the same reason We, being personally known to the Emperor of Russia, have written a Brief to him, imploring his aid under the present most bitter circumstances, and We doubt not that he, albeit a schismatic, will take to heart Our unfortunate situation. And therefore Your Lordship must employ means to secure that in the Congress, which must be held for peace either in Rastadt or elsewhere, restitution shall be made to Us of the States which were violently taken from Us, beginning with Avignon and Venaissin. It is a thing certain and not disputed that what is gained in an unjust war must be restored and cannot pass into the dominion of the unjust possessor. A war more unjust than that of the French against the Holy See cannot be imagined; wherefore We have most just of titles to claim back all that has been taken from Us. He who shall be destined to act for Us in the quality of Our Commissary for Great Britain, must make himself Our Advocate and put forward the aforementioned reasons of the spoil and sackage committed against Us without the smallest cause of complaint. We leave this business to whom are not wanting activity and eloquence.

"On the evening of the seventh of this month seven Cardinals were carried to Civitavecchia for transportation to Sicily or, as some say, to Portugal. We shall wait and see what other acts of hostility they will perpetrate.

"From Siena, the Church of the Assumption, the 16 of March, 1798."*

This letter of Pius VI, when Erskine had made it known in England, moved the King and his Ministers to try and think of some means to help the unfortunate Pontiff. In a letter of the Cardinal Dean to Lord Nelson and also in one from Lord Grenville, written on 18th December 1798, mention is made of a project to try and liberate His Holiness from his place of detention which was then the Certosa of Florence. It was thought that the French at the time were hampered for want of troops, as in an intercepted letter Bonaparte speaks of the necessity of keeping 200,000 men on the Rhine. The project, whatever it was, came to nothing, but may have been the one reason why the Holy Father was removed to Valence, where he succumbed to his sufferings and hardships on 29th August 1799.

Meanwhile the events in Rome added greatly to Mgr. Erskine's work in England. On the suppression of the Congregation of Propaganda by the French, Cardinal Borgia the Pro-Prefect managed to find a refuge in Padua, then in the possession of the Austrians, and in this way Erskine was able to communicate with him and assist him in the transmission of letters through England. The blow to Propaganda and the Oriental and National Colleges in Rome threatened to be fatal to the missions. Erskine laboured strenuously to remedy the evil by opening up a correspondence with missionaries in all parts of the world. Practically, Cardinal Borgia and he at this time transacted the entire business of Propaganda, and as the French had seized all its

* Translated in *Memoirs of Cardinal Erskine*, pp. 140-142.

revenues, Mgr. Erskine collected and administered very large funds for these missions, and subsequently gave an exact account of his receipts and disbursements.

By the French occupation of Rome Mgr. Erskine lost all his revenues as Uditore and as Papal Envoy and got very little from his canonry of St. Peter's, owing to the enormous forced contributions imposed by the new masters of the eternal city. It is of interest to record that King George III, on realizing the situation, provisionally pensioned the Monsignore, whilst the occupation of the Papal States continued.

During the closing months of 1799, Erskine constantly shows his anxiety about the Conclave, which was finally assembled at Venice, for the election of a successor to the late Pius VI. As his death under such unparalleled sufferings and persecutions had excited great compassion and emotion in England Erskine determined to celebrate a public Requiem for his soul. This was carried out in the Church of St. Patrick, Soho, on 16th November 1799, with all possible solemnity.

Cardinal Consalvi became Secretary of the Conclave, which began on 1st December, and several communications passed between him and Mgr. Erskine. In one, written from London on 17th December, the Monsignore was able to give him the news that a yearly allowance had been made by the English Government to the Cardinal Duke of York. In another of 2nd February 1800, he tells the Cardinal that he had explained at length to Lord Grenville the state of the Pontifical territory and of the Eternal City on which His Lordship had declared " that it was the wish of the British Government that everything should be restored to what it was before the violent and unjust aggression of the French."

Cardinal Chiaramonti was elected Pope on 14th March 1800, and took the name of Pius VII. It was not, however, till the 4th of April that Lord Grenville was

able to communicate the news to Erskine, who immediately wrote to Cardinal Consalvi to offer his homage to the new Pontiff and at the same time to beg that his recall might be considered. He finds, he says, his health suffering from the climate of England. Meanwhile a letter from Consalvi crossed his, and he found himself reappointed and a new cypher for his official correspondence communicated to him. So Erskine continued to write his despatches, which were for the most part forwarded by Mr. Canning, the Under Secretary, and the couriers of Lords Grenville and Minto.

On 14th April 1800, the Monsignore sends a long letter on a matter which had been communicated to him by the British Government. It seems that the Austrians were putting great pressure upon the new Pope to place himself entirely under their protection. An Austrian Cardinal had been urging this very strongly, but the opinion in London was, that there would be a great danger to the Pope in this, as once the Austrians set their feet in Rome it would be no easy matter to get them out again. In this same letter Erskine says that it has been difficult to see Lord Grenville, as he and the other Ministers have been wholly occupied in a project for the Union of England and Ireland, under one form of Government.

On the 22nd of the month the Monsignore announces that the above-named Union was carried in the Commons by a great majority of votes. He adds that yesterday he assisted at St. Patrick's Church, Soho, at a *Te Deum* for the election of His Holiness Pius VII. Eight days later Lord Grenville himself wrote to Cardinal Consalvi, thanking him for letting him hear of the election of the new Pontiff. He is glad, he says, to be assured in His Eminence's letter "that His Holiness is actuated by the same principles and possesses the same character as His illustrious predecessor, so

eminent for his public and private virtues. Conduct of affairs, founded on such principles, cannot but secure the continuance of that friendship and those good relations, which so happily existed between Great Britain and the Papal State during the time of the late Pontificate. Your Excellency may be sure that this Government of His Majesty will ever have the most sincere desire to cultivate these sentiments."

Pope Pius VII left Venice on his return to Rome on 6th June 1800, and entered the Eternal City on the third of the following month. The French, owing to the advance of troops from Naples, had withdrawn, and on the 17th of July, a letter written by Mr. Penrose, the British agent in Florence, had given some assurance of English help in case of need. "In consequence," he says, "of your application I am empowered to assure you in Lord Keith's name, that if any danger should be incurred to the Pope's person from an irruption of the French into Roman territory, His Lordship will use every exertion for stationing a vessel of war, whether at Civitavecchia or Gaeta, for the security of a sovereign in amity with His Majesty."

On Sir John Hippisley's departure, Mr. Thomas Jackson, the British plenipotentiary to the Court of the King of Sardinia, took over the duties of English agent at Rome. At first his chief occupation was endeavouring to protect English shipping and trade in the ports, etc., of the Pontifical States, since the French, in their advance into the Papal territory, were already putting extreme pressure on the Pope to expel all the English from them.

When Pius VII returned to Rome many questions were raised about the pillage of works of art from the public museums and private palaces which had gone on during the French occupation. On 21st July 1800, for example, Mgr. Erskine wrote that he had received a claim from Mgr. Albani regarding precious pictures and

statues belonging to his family. The claimant asserted that they had been seized first by the French and then left behind, when the Neapolitan troops quitted the capital. On his demand to these latter for their restitution, the authorities declared that the English under Sir Thomas Trowbridge had taken these works of art as their share of the plunder. Mgr. Erskine, whilst expressing his disbelief of this accusation, promised to lay the matter before the English Ministers. This he did, and on 12th August he was able to report the result of their enquiries. He enclosed a long letter from Lord Grenville and another from Lord Spencer, the First Lord of the Admiralty. The latter forwarded a reply from Sir Thomas Trowbridge, indignantly denying the charge that the English had plundered any property whatsoever in Rome, according to the complaint of the Duke Braschi and Mgr. Albani.

At this same time many complaints were made by the Roman authorities of the way in which the law, prohibiting the exportation of works of antiquity and art from Rome, was being evaded. Erskine, who was written to on the subject, replied that the English Government were fully aware of this traffic, and of the methods taken by the dealers to conceal their violation of the law. He mentions a case in which "the celebrated painting of St. Gregory by Annibale Carracci" had been prepared for exportation by coating it with gum, over which when dry a poor modern figure of the Archangel S. Michael had been painted. The English authorities were willing to do what they could, but there would seem to be need of more care in Rome itself.

Many requests were also being made for permission to export antiquities. In one case the artist and art dealer, Robert Fagan, then living in the Eternal City, asked to be allowed to send to England an antique statue of Venus "more beautiful than any other known

except perhaps the Venus of Medici and so considered by Canova"; a Mercury, almost equally fine, and other antiques. These had, according to Fagan, been purchased by the Prince of Wales from him. The permission was withheld for a time, as the estimate of their value for the payment of the tax differed very considerably. Fagan had valued them at less than half what the Government valuer, Avv. Carlo Fea, had put upon them. What happened to them is not clear from the documents that exist.

To return to the Erskine correspondence. On 9th January 1801, he reports that Lord Nelson is leaving Portsmouth and that his destination is probably the Mediterranean, and that as a league has been formed by Russia, Denmark, and Sweden to resist the British claim of a "right to search" of neutral vessels, Nelson will probably have instructions to attack Russian vessels in the Mediterranean and Black Sea.

Mgr. Erskine was one of the fourteen Cardinals reserved *in petto* in the Consistory of 23rd February 1801. He, however, begged that his nomination should not be made public, whilst he remained in England; but George III and Pitt were informed of it and cordially congratulated the Monsignore. The King jokingly asked him at his next audience, why he had not come in his new robes!

Erskine expected to quit London in May, but was delayed by business till some months later. The Concordat between the Pope and the First Consul had been negotiated in September 1800 in Paris, and on 5th June 1801, Consalvi left Rome to conclude it. It was signed by him as Plenipotentiary of the Holy See on 3rd July of that year. By its second article the Pope undertook to re-arrange the boundaries, etc., of the French dioceses: and by the third article to invite the Bishops to resign their sees. In England there were residing at this time three Archbishops and sixteen

Bishops* and to Mgr. Erskine was left the task of confronting these difficulties. On 13th October 1801, the Envoy wrote from London that he had received the Briefs, by which the Holy Father invited the French Bishops to resign their sees into his hands. He anticipates bother, as there had been long meetings of the prelates concerned with the Archbishop of Narbonne, and, as he hears, the only ecclesiastics who have upheld the necessity of obedience to the voice of the Holy Father are the Archbishops of Aix and Bordeaux and the Bishops of Lescar and Cominges.

Erskine accompanied a copy of the Brief with a latter to each of the Bishops, in which he says: "The Pope has not omitted to practise every possible endeavour to preserve to Your Lordship your See, but had experienced most profound regret in finding your resignation, in these urgent circumstances, indispensably required for the good of the Church and her unity, and for peace and the re-establishment in France of the Catholic Religion. His Holiness has charged me to assure your Lordship, that he has in every possible way recommended you to the First Consul, whom he has asked to keep you in view in his nominations to the new dioceses and at least to provide for your subsistence. And such is the anxiety of the Pope to contribute in every possible way to the relief of your Lordship, that he will not omit any favourable conjuncture for alleviating the burden of your situation and helping your personal needs."

During this same year Erskine keeps Cardinal Consalvi acquainted with the news in England. He speaks of the King's illness; the ministerial crisis on which Pitt, Grenville, Dundas, Spencer, and Windham

* These were: The Archbishops of Narbonne, Aix, and Bordeaux, the Bishops of Lescar, Arras, Montpelier, Angoulême, Nantes, Noyon, S. Pol de Leon, Usez, Perigueux, Cominges, Lombez, Vannes, Moulins, Audez, Troyes, and Avranche.

had resigned. It is supposed, he says, that Addington—the Speaker of the House of Commons—will take Pitt's place as head of the Government. In September the Monsignore speaks of the great excitement in England at the prospect of an invasion, and says that Nelson is going to make an examination of the French forces at Boulogne.

To return to Rome. On 18th February 1801, Mr. Jackson complains to the Cardinal Secretary of State about the seizure of a British ship, *The Naples Packet*, in the port of Civitavecchia and he prays for the Cardinal's protection. In the same month there were rumours of the French again advancing under General Murat. If this were true it might be necessary for the English to depart. As the Cardinal had told him, he says, that " the French demand that all English retire from the States of His Holiness," he begs the Cardinal " in that event to employ your good offices to procure me an exemption from an order of this kind, assuring you that it would be a true service done to me, especially as my delicate health would not allow me to take a journey in this season without danger."

In the year 1803, Jackson obtains audiences for Lord Elgin returning from his embassy at Constantinople and his secretary Mr. Hunt. In June General Stuart was in Rome on his way to England and was intending to pass through the Papal States and embark at Ancona. Rumours, however, were in circulation that the French troops were already in possession of that part of the Papal territory and Mr. Jackson asks in confidence the Cardinal's advice, which he is sure will be dictated " by the affectionate regards of His Holiness and his own for the English nation."

The same month an incident occurred at Porto d'Anzio, which called for the warm thanks of the British agent. The French had seized an English vessel in that harbour and the Pope at once demanded and

obtained its freedom. Mr. Jackson is sure that this act " will be greatly pleasing to the Government of His Majesty and that at the same time it will induce all the British Commanders to observe, on their side, the strict neutrality of the ecclesiastical ports." On the fourth of July, Jackson again thanks the Cardinal Secretary " for the promptitude with which he has insisted upon the surrender of the ship and of the English flag." He adds: " I take this occasion of informing your Eminence that in a letter I have received from Lord Nelson, dated 25 June, his Excellency has great satisfaction at the news of the neutrality of the States of His Holiness."

Mr. Jackson remained at his post till the Pope left Rome in 1805 to crown Napoleon at Paris. In March of that year, in a letter to the Cardinal Secretary, he refers to the departure. " I suppose," he says, " that nothing is changed as to what the Holy Father said in his last letter, that his leaving was fixed for the middle of March. . . . I desire most ardently to see the Holy Father return to His States to enjoy a peaceful and a happy life."

In November Mr. Jackson prepared for his own departure. The rumoured landing of British and Russian troops at Naples would, he foresees, cause movements among the French troops, which would make his stay impossible. He writes to the Cardinal Secretary in the hope that in conformity with " the constant attention and goodness he had always shown him " he will not forget to give him timely warning of the march of the French troops on Rome or any other point in the Pontifical States. The assembly of a *corps d'armée*, which, according to reports, is taking place in Tuscany, together with the troops already at Ancona, may possibly be with this object.

Two letters of 1806 to Cardinal Consalvi complete the existing *dossier* of letters from Mr. Jackson as English agent. The first is dated 26th February. In it he writes

" In the cruel circumstances in which I find myself I cannot refrain from bringing to Your Eminence's knowledge the two following facts:

" Monsieur Cacault, before leaving Rome, after the declaration of hostilities, asked me to give him a passport for his effects, etc., which he wished to send from Leghorn to Marseilles. Not only did I at once give him mine; but I gave him a letter addressed to the British Commanders asking them to allow these things, the property of a Minister returning to France, to pass. I also on my responsibility asked the Consul General at Leghorn to do the same.

" Since the arrival of His Eminence Cardinal Fesch in Rome, a Frenchman presented himself at my house, coming from Paris, where he said he was one of the chiefs of a plot against the Government. I interrupted him at this point, observing to him that he knew very little of England and the English; that although unfortunately we were at war, I could assure him on our side, we would carry it on loyally, and that consequently I never wished to hear propositions of this kind as they were so entirely opposed to the principles of my Government as also to mine. I ended by warning him never again to come to my house or I should be obliged to close my door against him. He has never shewn himself again.

" Such a way of acting, Monseigneur, deserves a return very different to what I experience at this moment and should at least procure for me the possibility to attend to the orders of my Court in Rome and in the Ecclesiastical States, and in case of departure, obtain for me facilities from the French Ministers.

" However, I assure your Eminence that the liberal conduct I have pursued in regard to the French (which has always been guided by the wish to diminish as far as possible the inevitable miseries of war) is a matter of great consolation to me in my present situation, as

also the remembrance of your Eminence's goodness and my feelings of eternal gratitude to His Holiness."

On 13th March of this year, 1806, Mr. Jackson writes from Trieste, saying that he had arrived safely there the day before. "I shall never forget the care you have taken," he adds, "to secure my leaving Rome in circumstances so critical and difficult. I feel that it is to you, Monseigneur, that I owe the security of my journey and the liberty and independence I am now enjoying here. I must not omit to thank your Eminence for your recommendation to Mons. the Auditor Leonardi, who took every trouble imaginable to allow of my embarking at Pesaro."

This practically ends the documents regarding the diplomatic relations of England and Rome at this period. In the year which followed the departure of Mr. Jackson, the British agent (1807), nearly all the papers in the present *dossier* refer to the numerous attempts made by the Cardinal Secretary to defend English property in the Pontifical States from the French officials. A decree of Napoleon, issued from Berlin on 21st November 1806, forbade the introduction of English merchandise into the Papal States or the exportation of grain of any kind. Two officials of the Pope were appointed to visit every ship which entered the ports and were required to certify that no English goods were on board. In conformity with this decree visits were made by the French to storehouses and shops of traders on the Adriatic and Mediterranean. The Papal Government did not in the least acknowledge the right of the French to institute such enquiries, still less to proceed to the confiscation of any such goods, maintaining that the Holy See was neutral. The Pontifical officials did all in their power to prevent or delay such visits, and as a fact, though these searches were made, it does not appear that they led to the discovery or confiscation of much English property

At any rate these papers make it evident that even in the absence of any British agent from Rome, the Papal officials still continued to safeguard English interests as far as they could, during the oppressive rule of the French in their second occupation of the States of the Church.

EPILOGUE

IT may be of interest to the reader to learn what happened to Mgr. Erskine and Sir John Coxe Hippisley, after the conclusion of their respective missions in England and Rome.

Mgr. Erskine prepared to leave England in December 1801. There was nothing further to delay him in the country, and as he had been created Cardinal* by the Pope, he was anxious to get away. Cardinal Caprara had been in Paris since October, acting as *legate a latere* to sign the Concordat, which had been negotiated between the Pope and the existing French Government, of which Bonaparte was now First Consul. A preliminary peace had already been concluded between the allies and France, and it had been agreed to hold a congress at Amiens to settle the terms of a general peace for Europe. So Erskine left London on 12th December 1801, travelling with an English passport, which described him as " late Legate from His Holiness at this Court." He reached Paris a week later, and was present at the official proclamation of the Concordat. For one reason or another, he remained there for more than eight months, and only left, on 29th August 1802, to continue his journey to Rome, which he reached in October 1802. On 17th January 1803, he was declared Cardinal deacon, with the title of S. Maria in Campitelli, which had been formerly held by the Cardinal Duke of

* Reserved *in petto*.

York, his patron and early benefactor. Whilst he remained in the Eternal City, Cardinal Erskine was able to serve English interests in many ways, and was the means of securing the property and rights of the Scots College, of which he had been in early days a student.

At this time Cardinal Erskine was still only a sub-deacon; but in 1804 he received deacon's orders. The situation of the Pope in Rome was by no means secure, and it quickly appeared that the Emperor Napoleon had no intention of allowing him any freedom of action. By threats he compelled the Pontiff to comply with his wishes, and to adopt a full French policy. Finally Napoleon determined to proceed further, and to either make the Pope a mere cipher to carry out his will in all matters civil or ecclesiastical, or to deprive him of his temporal power altogether. Accordingly, on 13th February 1806, he set forth his determination in a document couched in clear and even harsh language, and on 2nd March, Cardinal Fesch presented a note to the Holy Father in milder language, but to the same effect. In these documents the Pope was told to break off all relations with other European powers, to shut his ports against Russian, Swedish, and English ships, and to expel all the English from Rome and the Pontifical States. In these critical circumstances, Pius VII called together all the Cardinals in Rome, and was supported by their advice in refusing to submit to such demands.

Events after this move very quickly. The French troops were already in possession of Ancona, and in 1806 they occupied all the harbours of the Pontifical States. On 1st November 1807, the French General Lemerrois proclaimed himself Governor of the provinces of Ancona, Macerata, Fermo, and Urbino. By a decree of Napoleon, 2nd April 1808, all these Pontifical States were declared united to the Kingdom of Italy. Rome itself had already been occupied, on 2nd February of this year, 1808, by General Miollis, who planted cannon

against the gates of the Quirinal palace. In this month and March, fourteen Cardinals were forced to depart from Rome, and later on in the year, others were seized and deported. For a time Cardinal Erskine shared the Pope's captivity in the Quirinal, until on the night of 5th July 1809 the Holy Father was seized by French soldiers, and carried away as a prisoner. Erskine was then allowed to return, not to his own apartments in the Capranica palace, but to a palace in the Via di Aracoeli, once the abode of Cardinal De Zelada.

On 8th December 1809, Erskine received peremptory orders from General Radet to the effect that the Emperor Napoleon directed that he should leave within twenty hours for Paris. The Cardinal was ill, and did not at once obey; but pressure was exercised, and at last on 2nd January he was obliged to leave Rome, and reached Paris on 26th January 1810.* For a time his health seemed to improve, but in the first days of 1811, he received "a terrible shock by the arrest of Mgr. De Gregorio, Father Fontana, and Cardinals Gabrielli, Opizzoni and De Pietro, who were all shut up in prison in the Donjon of Vincennes." At the end of February, he had a second stroke, and died on 20th March 1811. He was buried at the same time as Cardinal Vincenti, who had died on the same day, in the Church of S. Genevieve, Paris. A circle of white marble under the cupola of his titular Church of S. Maria in Campitelli, Rome, records his death.

Mr. Hippisley, on returning to England, was created a baronet in 1796. He continued during his life to interest himself in all Catholic matters, frequently corresponding with Cardinals and other friends he had made in Rome. It was through letters addressed to him by Cardinal Borgia that the pecuniary distress of the

* For an interesting account of this journey, see Mezière, *Brady's Memoirs*, pp. 233-258.

last of the Stuarts, Henry Benedict Cardinal Duke of York, was first brought to the notice of King George III, and was relieved by a pension from him. On his death the Cardinal of York left several mementoes of his gratitude to his friend Sir John Coxe Hippisley. Whilst a member of the House of Commons, Sir John always strenuously supported full Catholic Emancipation. He retired from Parliament in 1819, but continued to write much in favour of the claims of Catholics in Ireland and in England to justice. He corresponded frequently with Cardinal Consalvi, Secretary of State to Pius VII, of whose abilities he had the highest opinion, and whose friendship he much prized.

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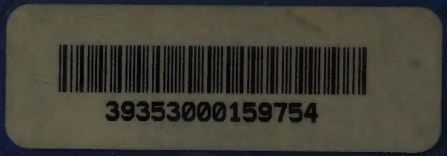
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